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THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION, till the DISPERSION,

AND THE

ESTABLISHMENT of KINGDOMS:

The Period at which *Rollin's* ANCIENT HISTORY commences.

EDINBURGH:

Printed in the Year MDCCLXIII.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC HISTORY, *to the time of* ALEXANDER *the* Great.

CHAP. I.

The GENERAL HISTORY *of the* WORLD *till the* FLOOD.

SECT. I.

The CREATION *of* MAN, *and the ſituation of the garden of* EDEN.

[*Year of the* WORLD 1. *Year before* CHRIST 4004.]

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth. The earth was at firſt in a confuſed and deſolate ſtate; but by divine providence, and ſecond cauſes ſubſervient to that purpoſe, gradually, in the ſpace of ſix days, reduced into an habitable world, clothed with trees, ſhrubs, plants, and flowers, and ſtocked with various kinds of animals: and when all theſe things were, by the care and beneficence of GOD, prepared for the reception of his principal gueſt, then, and not till then, was man created, and introduced into the world. *The creation of the world, and of man.*

Whatever opinions the antient Heathens might entertain of the origin of mankind, we are assured, by the most authentic records, that we are descended from two persons, Adam and Eve, who were formed by GOD in the most absolute perfection, both of body and mind, and subject to none of those irregular appetites, diseases, wants, and sorrows which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought upon themselves and their unhappy posterity: and, lest any thing should be wanting to complete their happiness, a most delightful habitation was prepared for them in Eden, by their gracious Creator; a garden or paradise, whereon all the beauties of nature were profusely bestowed, well watered, and planted with all kinds of trees that were either pleasant to the sight, or good for food. In the midst of this garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and, it seems, contrary nature; one called *the tree of life*, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendering those who eat it, in some degree, at least, immortal; and the other, *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*; the consequence of the tasting which was so pernicious to them and their offspring.

The happy state of the first pair.

But, before we proceed, it may be expected we should say something with regard to the situation of this garden, concerning which there has been so great a variety of opinions among learned men.

Situation of the garden of Eden.

Several of the primitive Fathers believed that there never was a local paradise, and that all that is spoken of it in Scripture is to be understood in an allegorical sense: others, who allowed the reality of paradise, have swerved so far from the letter, as to suppose it not to be situated on any part of this terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a recess hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place occupied, at present, by the Caspian sea, under the arctic pole, and under the equator; with many more such extravagancies, which have been collected by several authors, some of whom have thought it worth while to give such whimsies a serious answer.

Extravagant opinions concerning it.

On the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial paradise, have fallen into no less extravagancies. There is scarce a corner of the world which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Tartary; upon the banks of the Danube, and the Ganges; in the isle of Ceylon, in Persia, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Chaldea, in Arabia, in Palestine, in Syria; about the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus; near the cities of Damascus and Tripoly; in Ethiopia, towards the mountains of the moon; and which will, doubtless, be thought as much out of the way, in Sweden.

This

This diversity of opinions proceeds partly from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of Christianity, of allegorizing all passages of Scripture which had the least appearance of difficulty in them; and partly from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of Moses and that of the Heathen authors, whose imperfections are not yet, perhaps, sufficiently supplied to resolve this difficult problem. As for the Jews, from whom we might have expected some light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their Bible, and have run as much astray as other nations in their descriptions of paradise; imagining, as Josephus, and all the rest of their authors have done, the Ganges and the Nile to be two of the four rivers; in which the Christian Fathers have almost unanimously followed them. *What owing to.*

There are several places which bear the name of Eden: we find two mentioned in Scripture, besides that in the Mosaical description, if it be not one of them; namely, one near Damascus in Syria, the other in or about Thelassar in Chaldea Ptolemy places an Addan in this last country, and another on the Euphrates. There is also another Eden in Syria, near Tripoly, in the way to Damascus, as the former seems likewise to be. Cartwright, in his travels, gives an account of an island in the Tigris, called *Eden*, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve miles above Mansel (A). There is also a city near Tarsus in Cilicia, still called *Adena*; and Aden is a very noted one on the coast of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, a little without the streights of Bab al Mondab: for Eden, or Aden, signifying *pleasure*, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; and the last seems to be the case of Aden in Arabia, which has nothing more than ordinary to deserve that name, but the barrenness of the neighbouring soil. *Several Edens.*

It appears plainly from the Mosaical description (B), however prepo-

(A) This remark, whether true or false, seems to have occasioned Raleigh's straining the expression in the Nestorian epistles, translated into Latin by Masius, where that isle is not called Eden, but is said to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(B) "And the Lord God planted "a garden east-ward in Eden. And "a river went out of Eden to water "the garden; and from thence it "was parted, and became into four "heads. The name of the first *is* "Pison [*Fishon*]: that *is* it which "compasseth the whole land of Ha-"vilah, where *there is* gold. And "the gold of that land *is* good: there "*is* bdellium [*bdolah*], and the onyx-"stone [*shoham*]. And the name of "the second river *is* Gihon: the same "*is* it that compasseth the whole land "of Ethiopia [*Cush*]. And the name "of the third river *is* Hiddekel: that "*is* it which goeth toward the east of "(or east-ward to) Assyria [*Ashur*]. "And the fourth river *is* Euphrates "[*Perath*, or *Frat*]."

The Mosaical paradise local, not imaginary.

sterous a learned author † thinks it, that Moses had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them in his time, and, as appears from Scripture, for many ages after. Eden is as evidently a real country as Ararat, where the ark rested, and Shinaar, where the sons of Noah dwelt after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in Scripture as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another in the Mosaical history. But the Jews having, brobably during the distraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, lost the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of Eden, (as indeed they have of most things relating to their antiquities), except that of the rivers Hiddekel and Frat; the Christians, who have busied themselves much in search after it, have lost their way for want of guides, which has been the occasion of so many strange notions about it as we have already mentioned: and there must always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveness of the proofs leave room for controversy.

This enquiry uncertain, and conjectural.

Some of the latest moderns, misled by the affinity of names, have supposed they found the name of Pison preserved in the Pasi-tigris, or rather (as they would have it to favour their hypothesis) the Piso-tigris; whilst others take it for granted that it is the Phasis, as they conclude the Aras to be the Gihon, from the conformity of the signification; both these terms being used by the Persians to signify any great river in general. But, at that rate, Eden may be any-where, and every-where; since a conformity of names, either in sound or signification, is to be found in all countries: and if that sort of proof be admitted, unless under proper restrictions, it will be no difficult matter to prove, that America was peopled immediately by the posterity of Noah, as some have alledged.

The *bdolah* and *shoham*, which were the produce of Havilah, being unknown names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one so as to favour the scheme he espouses. Thus the *bdolah* is rendered *bdellium*; the *carbuncle*, the *loadstone*, the *oleaster*. Those who place paradise in Armenia will have it to be *crystal*, because they find that stone thereabouts; and those who situate it in Chaldea, towards the Persian gulf, insist that it signifies *pearl*, which is fished in great quantity in Bahrein, near Al Katîf, on the Arabian coast, where the country of Havilah is situated, according to this hypothesis. And it must be owned, this conjecture seems to come nearest the truth, considering manna is compared to the *bdolah* for colour; and so the Talmudists describe manna to be round as coriander-seed, and white as

† Dr Burnet's Theory of the earth, *book* ii. *chap* 1. at the end.

pearls.

pearls. In like manner, the *ſhoham* is made, by different authors, to ſignify the *beryl* and the *emerald*; perhaps with as little propriety as it is rendered, in our Bibles, the *onyx-ſtone*, which tranſlation is condemned by Bochart and others (C).

The ſchemes which place Eden in Syria and Armenia, ill grounded.

Of the three ſchemes which at preſent obtain amongſt the learned, the firſt, which places paradiſe near Damaſcus in Syria, about the ſprings of Jordan, and has for its patrons Heidegger, Mr le Clerc, Pere Abram, and Pere Hardouin, ſeems the worſt grounded, being deſtitute of all the marks ſpecified in the Moſaical deſcription, which ought always to be the principal teſt in this enquiry. The ſecond hypotheſis places Eden in Armenia, between the ſprings or heads of the Tygris, the Euphrates, the Araxes and the Phaſis; and is adopted by two great men, eminent for their ſkill in geography, to wit, Sanſon, and the late Mr Hadrian Reland, beſides Calmet. But this ſcheme is not much better ſupported than the firſt; for, according to the modern diſcoveries, the Phaſis does not riſe in the mountains of Armenia, near the ſprings of the Euphrates, the Araxes and the Tygris, as Strabo, Ptolemy, Dionyſius, and the reſt of the ancients have erroneouſly informed us; which led them, without doubt, into this miſtake: but, by the map of Colchis, or Mingrelia, in Thevenot's collection, and the account of Sir John Chardin in his travels, that river has its ſource far away in mount Caucaſus, and does not flow from ſouth to north, but, on the contrary, from north to ſouth; a great extent of country, and the river Kor (which, by its ſituation, would much better ſupply the place of the Piſon than the Phaſis) interpoſing; as may be ſeen by the map. As one miſtake generally draws on another, Reland, led again by that deceitful guide the ſimilitude of names, ſuppoſes Cuſh to be the country of the Coſſaeans or Cuſſaeans. But if the Coſſaeans were the inhabitants of the mountains, which, with Parthia, bounded Media on the eaſt; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was Kuheſtân, or *the mountain country*, as that name ſignifies; how could they be ſettled along the Araxes, which yet it was neceſſary they ſhould be, to ſupport his opinion? for Kuheſtân is the moſt eaſtern

(C) On this occaſion we cannot help obſerving, that our tranſlators have often ſwerved from the original Hebrew, to follow the Septuagint, if not the German verſion, eſpecially in names and terms. Thus Aram is generally rendered Syria; Khaſhdim, Chaldea; Mizraim, Egypt; Cuſh, Ethiopia; and the like. But we need not ſend the reader farther than the Moſaical deſcription of Eden above-cited, in which it appears there are no leſs than ſix variations. They have, moreover, introduced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the German orthography inſtead of the Engliſh, or continuing the orthography of the Vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have conſtantly made uſe of the *j* conſonant inſtead of the *y*. Jacob and Joſeph ſhould be written *Yacob* and *Yoſeph*, or rather *Yoſef*; Benjamin *Benyamin*, or rather *Benyamin*.

or

or north-eastern part of Irâk Ajami, a well-known province of Irân, or Persia at large; agreeable to Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian, who makes the country of the Cossaeans a part of Media, though some place them in Persia, and Ptolemy in Susiana: besides, the Phasis and Scythia (which Sanlon understands by Cush, or the Cossaeans) seem to have been too remote to be known to Moses. Neither does this hypothesis account for that river which watered paradise, and from whence the other four had their rise; and Reland will not allow it can be done but by supposing a subterranean river, which may as well serve for the scheme of the Jews, followed by the Fathers, which makes the Pison and Gihon, the Nile and the Ganges.

The third scheme most probable.

According to the third opinion, Eden is placed upon the united stream of the Dijlat, or Hiddekel, and Frat, called by the Arabs Shat al Arab, that is, *the river of the Arabs*; which begins two days journey above Basrah, and, about five leagues below, divides again into two or three chanels, which empty themselves into the Persian gulf. By this hypothesis, the Shat al Arab is the river passing out of Eden; which river, considered according to the disposition of its chanel, and not according to the course of its stream, divides into four heads, or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, *viz.* the two branches of the Shat, which serve for the Pison and Gihon; and two above, *viz.* the Frat and Dijlat, or the Euphrates and Hiddekel. According to this disposition, the western branch of the Shat must be Pison, and the adjoining part of Arabia, bordering on the Persian gulf, will be Havilah; and the eastern branch will be the Gihon, encircling the country of Cush, or Khuzestân, a province of Irân, as it is still named by the Persians.

Eden to be looked for in Chaldea.

This opinion was first started by Calvin, and is, with some little variation, followed by Stephanus Morinus, Bochart, and Huet bishop of Avranches. And indeed all the passages of Scripture where Eden is mentioned concur to fix it somewhere hereabout. The prophet, speaking of Tyre, says, "Haran, and Canneh, and Eden were thy merchants." Now, if Canneh, be Calneh, or Calyo, which is taken to be Ctesiphon, or Meda'in, the seat of the Parthian race of Persian kings, then Eden must have been to the south of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which seems to be from north to south. The same order is observed in two other places of the Old Testament, where mention is made of Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, "and the children of Eden "which were in Telassar." To this we may add an argument used by some, that the city of Enoch, or rather Hanukh, built by Cain, and called after the name of his son, is placed to the east of Eden: and Ptolemy places a city, called Anuchta, in Susiana, or the country of Cush.

With regard to the natural marks ascribed to Havilah, authors mention that part of Arabia as productive of gold; and as for the *bdolah* and

and *ſhoham*, they may be made the produce of any country, as we have before obſerved. However, the *bdolah* being conſidered either as pearls or *bdellium*, (ſuppoſed to be a tranſparent, odoriferous, but bitter gum), is acknowledged to be a native of Arabia.

But though this hypotheſis ſeems the beſt of any that hath been yet advanced, and to account tolerably well for the Moſaical deſcription, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the Shat al Arab, which, by this ſcheme, repreſent the Piſon and the Gihon, ſeem not conſiderable enough to deſerve the name of rivers, nor are of ſufficient length to encompaſs countries of any extent; the place where the Shat al Arab divides below Baſrah, being not above eighteen leagues diſtant from the places where thoſe two branches fall into the ſea. Indeed, if we could be ſure there was a third branch, which, according to ſome accounts and maps, ſeparating from the Shat al Arab about Baſrah, falls into the ſea at Al Katif, it might ſerve tolerably well for the Piſon; and for the Gihon, we would chuſe to ſubſtitute either the river Karon, or the river Karha; the firſt of which falls into the Shat al Arab, the other into the Tigris, and may much more properly be ſaid to encompaſs the whole land of Cuſh, as running through Khuzeſtân; whereas the eaſtern branch of the Shat waſhes only a corner of that country, or rather one ſide of an iſland made by it and the Karon. *Objections to the third ſcheme.*

Or ſuppoſe we ſhould alter this ſcheme a little, and place Eden above the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, we ſhall find one or two large arms croſſing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better ſupply the place of the Piſon and Gihon than the branches of the Shat al Arab, provided other circumſtances agreed with this alteration. If theſe branches of the Tigris had been known to Grotius and others, they would not, perhaps, have fallen into ſo groſs a miſtake as to make the Nahar Malcha, or *royal river*, which paſſes from Euphrates to Tigris, the Gihon: it would better have ſuited with the Moſaical deſcription to have ſuppoſed it to be the river of Eden, which was divided into four heads; in which caſe the parts of thoſe rivers to the ſouth of the Nahar Malcha would ſerve for the Piſon and Gihon; and indeed that would anſwer the Moſaical deſcription, as to the rivers, almoſt without exception. But the truth is, ſuch an hypotheſis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the Scripture, and allowing that the moſt antient books in it were written after, or in the times of the Babyloniſh captivity: for the Nahar Malcha, or Baſilicos Potamos, as the Greeks called it, is an artificial canal, ſtill remaining, cut from Euphrates to Tigris, a little above Babylon, in the later times of the Babylonian empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to Nimrod: perhaps it may be the ſame with the river Cutha, which a Perſian author (Tabari) ſays was dug by a king of Babel of the ſame name, and ſuppoſed to be Cuſh the father of Nimrod. *New ſchemes propoſed.*

Thoſe

Thoſe who patronize the Armenian paradiſe, may likewiſe improve or amend their ſcheme out of the modern travellers and maps *; where they will find the Morad Shai, which falls into Euphrates, and the Kor, which joins the Araxes, or Aras, either of them better fitted to ſupply the place of the Piſon than the Phaſis: or, if they chuſe to have the Euphrates and Tigris united with the other two Moſaical rivers, they may adopt the Sert, which falls into the Tigris at Heſn Keifa, and throw out the Aras and Kor, the head of which laſt Ptolemy has made to change place with that of the Phaſis. As a wrong or confuſed account of the riſe and courſe of rivers, delivered by the antients, has been the occaſion of many of the miſtakes into which writers have fallen in treating of this ſubject, the enquirer ought to have recourſe to the modern obſervations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

The Moſaical deſcription of Eden imperfect.

After all, we ought not to be ſo earneſt about this matter; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Moſaical deſcription does not agree with the ſtate of things either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common ſtream of which the four rivers are properly branches; nor can it be conceived how a whole land can be encircled by a river, as Havilah is ſaid to be by the Piſon, and Cuſh by the Gihon, without being an iſland. But we are to conſider paradiſe deſcribed according to Moſes' notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in thoſe early times. It is abſurd, in this caſe, to alledge an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the courſe of rivers; for Moſes deſcribes things as they were ſuppoſed to be at the time he wrote: nor is it credible that the Hiddekel and Frat were branches of a river before, and had ſprings of their own afterwards.

It is obſervable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors with relation to theſe two rivers; nor indeed is there the leaſt room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the ſame, to this day: for what the Hebrews called *Hiddekel*, the Arabs, and perhaps the Aſſyrians and Chaldeans, called *Dijlat* then, as they do at preſent; and the Pherath, Forat, or Frat, is ſtill called *Frat* by the neighbouring people: for Euphrates is one of thoſe corrupt names which our tranſlators have borrowed from the ſeptuagint verſion, and which probably the Greeks, as Reland judiciouſly obſerved, took from the Perſians, who often prefixed the word *Ab* or *Au*, which ſignifies *water*, to the names of rivers; of which word, and *Frat*, the name *Euphrates* is compounded. The other opinion, which forms that name from a conjunction of *Frat*, with the preceding particle *hua*, in the Hebrew text, is abſurd; as ſuppoſing the Greeks firſt came acquainted with that river by reading this paſſage of Moſes relating to the ſituation of Eden.

* Particularly thoſe of DE LISLE, which are far the beſt.

The

Several paradiſes.

The oriental nations give the name of paradiſe to ſeveral places, rather for the deliciouſneſs of their ſituation, than a real perſuaſion that any of them was the paradiſe of Adam, which the Mohammedans in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the ſeventh heaven. And, of the antient Perſians, ſome thought it to be in the ſun, as the Manicheans and other heretics did; and others, that there is no paradiſe now in being, but that after the reſurrection the earth will be renewed by being melted, and changed into another form, and a paradiſiacal ſtate; ſo that they ſeem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradiſe before the curſe denounced againſt it at the fall. However, the terreſtrial paradiſes mentioned by the Arabs and Perſians are, 1. The plain of Damaſcus which they call *al Gauta*. 2. Obolla, a village in Irâk, on the weſtern branch of the Shat al Arab, where there are moſt pleaſant gardens. 3. Sheb Bawân, a place in Fars, or Proper Perſia, ſituate on the river Nilâb, near Nubendijân. 4. Sogd Samarkand, or the valley of Samarkand. 5. Gangdiz, or the caſtle of the Ganges, called alſo Behiſhti Gang, or the paradiſe of Ganges, Arîm or Arîn, and Kubbat al Arad, or the vertex of the earth. 6. Jam gherd. But theſe two laſt places are imaginary, and imagined to be ſituate eaſtward of China, in the middle of the ſea, where the zodiac and equator interſect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the Fortunate Iſlands, (or Canaries), where they place the other interſection. So that theſe two places are ſuppoſed to be paradiſiacal, as conſidered mathematically, and ſituate exactly under the interſection of the equator, where they think the temperance and clemency of the air muſt needs render ſuch a ſituation extremely delightful. The Indians place their earthly paradiſe in Caſhmîr, near the head of the Ganges, whence that above-mentioned ſeems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world; and this not only on account of the amenity of that ſmall kingdom, eſpecially in reſpect of the more ſouthern parts of India; but becauſe the river Ganges, which that nation eſteems ſo ſacred, is ſuppoſed to take its riſe from thence. But the more general tradition of the Eaſt is, that paradiſe was in Serendib, or rather Selandiv (D), that is, the iſland of Selan, or, as we corruptly call it, Ceylon, or Zeilan (E). The Arab writers alſo take notice of ſeveral paradiſes, as that of Iram or Aram, in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, built by Shaddad, the ſon of Ad, who being deſtroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himſelf, were rendered inviſible (though preſerved to this day) and never ſeen but by God's particular permiſſion; which favour one *Colabah* pretended to have received in the reign of the khaliff Moawiyah; and another planted by the Molahidah, or Iſmaelians, a race of princes called by the Europeans *Aſſaſſins*, in a valley in Curdiſtan; which was deſign-

(D) *Div*, in the Malabric tongue, ſignifies *an iſland*.

(E) It is ſurpriſing that Mr Le Clerc ſhould take Serendib for Madagaſcar.

ed, by its delightfulneſs, to raviſh the perſons to whom it was ſhewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradiſe; and, in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villainy which he ſhould judge conducive to his deſigns.

Nor were the antient Heathens themſelves without ſome obſcure tradition concerning a paradiſe, or rather ſeveral paradiſes, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent, in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemiſphere; as the garden of the Heſperides, the Fortunate iſlands, Ogygia, and Taprobane, and the like; which, as they were all characterized like ſo many paradiſes, ſo they were all placed out of this continent by their geography and deſcriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the Chriſtian Fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradiſe in the ſouthern hemiſphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man (Dr Burnet) was induced to believe the ſame thing; though he ſuppoſed the whole earth, before the fall, to be in an eminent degree paradiſiacal.

SECT. II.

Of the fall of man.

Adam placed in paradiſe, and forbidden the tree of knowledge.

GOD, having placed Adam, immediately after his formation, in the garden of Eden, whoſe ſituation we have been attempting to diſcover, to dreſs and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he ſtrictly commanded him not to taſte, upon pain of death, the certain conſequence of his diſobedience.

He names the beaſts and birds.

The firſt thing which Adam did, after his introduction into paradiſe, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beaſts and birds, which preſented themſelves before him, not only for that purpoſe, but to perform their homage, as it were, and make Adam ſenſible, that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him.

Takes Eve to wife.

After this, God, having formed Eve out of the ſide of Adam, as he ſlept, brought her to him; who, knowing her to be "bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh," took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any ſenſe of ſhame, though they were both naked.

The continuance of the ſtate of innocence.

How long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain: it is probable they did not immediately tranſgreſs the divine command; but it ſhould ſeem, by the narration of Moſes, that their fall was not long after their creation. The Jews in general, and moſt of the Chriſtian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were

created: but this is next to impoſſible; for a day would be a great deal too ſhort for the ſeveral actions that muſt on that ſuppoſition have been compriſed in it. Beſides, God himſelf, after the ſixth day was paſt, declared (as at the end of the preceding days), every thing to be very good; which is not reconcileable with truth, if ſin, the greateſt evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjecture, that this calamity happened the eighth day, and others the tenth, of the world's age; ſuppoſing that, in commemoration thereof, the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was inſtituted in after-times. If we can ſubſcribe to the opinion of thoſe who make a day and a year to have been the ſame before the fall, there is indeed no difficulty in ſuppoſing it even on the ſixth day.

The fall, as related by Moſes.

The fall of man is ſuccinctly related by Moſes, in the following manner: That the ſerpent, being more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field, aſked the woman, whether it was true, that God had not granted her and her huſband leave to eat of every tree in the garden? to which ſhe anſwered, that God had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midſt of the garden; which he commanded they ſhould not taſte, nor ſo much as touch, leſt they ſhould die. The ſerpent replied, that they ſhould not die: for God knew the virtue of the tree; and that, ſo ſoon as they eat of it, their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon Eve, ſeeing the fruit tempting to the view, and deſireable to make one wiſe, took of the fruit of it, and did eat; and gave alſo to her huſband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they, knowing they were naked, ſewed fig-leaves together, and made themſelves aprons. After this, Adam and Eve, hearing the voice of God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themſelves among the trees; but, on God's calling for Adam, he excuſed himſelf for not appearing, becauſe he was naked. Upon this, God demanded of him, Who it was that told him he was naked? and whether he had diſobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? Adam did not encreaſe his guilt by denying it; but confeſſed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had taſted it. She, being examined likewiſe, acknowledged what ſhe had done; but ſaid the ſerpent had ſeduced and deceived her. God then proceeded to judgment: he firſt curſed the ſerpent above all beaſts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the duſt; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their ſeveral offſprings; and that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, who ſhould bruiſe the other's heel. The woman was puniſhed with the pain of childbirth, and put in ſubjection to her huſband; and, as to the man, God curſed the ground for his ſake, declaring, that it ſhould bring forth thorns and thiſtles, and that he ſhould earn his bread by the ſweat of his brow, till he returned to the duſt from whence he was taken. And at laſt, God, having cloathed them both with ſkins,

turned them out of the garden, leſt they ſhould take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever: and, to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims at the eaſt of the garden, and a flaming ſword, which turned every way, to guard the paſſage to the tree of life.

Some objections to the letter of that relation.

This conciſe account being, at firſt view, incumbered with ſome improbabilities, ſeveral learned and pious men have been enclined to believe the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical ſenſe, and not according to the ſtrictneſs of the letter: alledging for their excuſe, that the ancients, and particularly the eaſtern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philoſophy, a popular, and a myſterious or hidden one; of which dubious ſort of ſtyle the Scripture often makes uſe, in explaining natural things; ſometimes in accommodating itſelf to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled truth: and that, to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal hiſtory of this ſad cataſtrophe, the ſafeſt way is, to underſtand it as a parabolical ſtory, under which the real circumſtances are diſguiſed and concealed, as a myſtery not fit to be more expſicitly declared.

The firſt objection made to the letter of this hiſtory is in relation to the ſerpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the uſe of ſpeech, and rational diſcourſe: for, to ſuppoſe an evil ſpirit, or the devil, made uſe of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of Moſes, who attributes the ſeduction of Eve to the natural craftineſs of the ſerpent only. Beſides, the very ſpeech of ſuch an animal, if Eve had taken it to be dumb, muſt have ſo frighted her, that ſhe would ſcarce have ſtaid and entered into a conference with it. And if the ſerpent had originally the gift of ſpeech, but loſt it, as a puniſhment of his crime in ſeducing the woman, Moſes would ſurely not have paſſed it over in ſilence, and mentioned ſo ſmall a penalty as going on his belly, and licking the duſt; the meaning of which words it is not eaſy to explain, unleſs we ſay, that the ſerpent did before walk upright, or on four feet: for, if he crept from the beginning, it ſeems ridiculous to impoſe, as a puniſhment for a crime, what he was by nature ſubject to.

As to the trees, the nature of them both ſeems to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is ſaid, had the virtue to prolong life conſiderably, if not for ever. But if the longevity or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if Adam had not ſinned? how could his poſterity, when they were diſperſed over the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? or how could one tree have ſufficed all mankind? The nature of the tree of knowledge is ſtill more difficult to conceive; it ſeems to have inſtilled into our firſt parents a new ſenſe of ſhame and modeſty, to which, before the fall, they were entire ſtrangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to

have

have been in the tree, that, on eating of it, a man became as a god, knowing good and evil.

Some further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind, (for which reason some have thought Moses's design in this relation was to authorize the rigour of his own laws); the improbability of Adam and Eve's sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of God's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel, killing and flaying the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should attempt to repossess themselves of it by fraud or force.

Concluding, therefore, that these things will not bear a literal construction, an allegorical or figurative sense has been put on this whole account: and it is pretended, that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on.

The literal sense defended.

But though it cannot be denied, that some of the ancient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school; yet it is apparent Moses had no such design; and, as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art or disguise, it cannot be supposed, but that this history of the fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

The tempter was the devil, who abused the body of the serpent.

As to the particular objections which have been mentioned; and, first, as to the serpent; it is answered, That as Moses contents himself with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication, he makes the serpent, it is true, who was the visible instrument, to have been the seducer of the woman, and says nothing of the latent efficient cause: for which reason some of the antient Jews were of opinion, that the whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent, which creature, they suppose, had originally the gift of reason and speech; so that Eve might well have understood him (F). Others, thinking this too difficult of belief, have imagined, that it was

(F) Josephus supposes, that all creatures at that time used the same language; and that the serpent, conversing familiarly with Adam and Eve, excited by envy of their happiness, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of knowledge; for which, among other punishments, he was deprived of the use of speech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground. Of the same opinion are Aben Ezra, and others.

not

not a real ſerpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no leſs liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently ſtiled in Scripture "the ſerpent," and "the old ſerpent;" yet why he ſhould be called "the moſt ſubtle beaſt of the field," we cannot conceive; neither will the puniſhment inflicted on the ſerpent ſuffer us to doubt but that a ſerpent's body, at leaſt, was employed in the tranſaction.

The moſt common, therefore, and, indeed, the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil, ſome wicked and malicious ſpirit, (probably the chief of thoſe beings), who envied the happineſs of mankind, and was thereupon reſolved to bring them into the ſame miſerable condition with himſelf and his apoſtate companions; and that, to effect his purpoſe, he made uſe of a ſerpent's body (G), as the moſt proper organ to carry on his fraud with ſucceſs. And this ſeems reaſonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beaſt's over-reaching mankind in their higheſt pitch of underſtanding, but from the atteſtation of other parts of Scripture, where the devil is called "the old ſerpent;" and is, by our Saviour himſelf, ſaid to have been "a murderer from the beginning," or the firſt creation, alluding to his miſchievous deſtruction of mankind at that time; the author of the book of *Wiſdom*, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the Jewiſh church, alſo telling us, that, "by "the envy of the devil, death came into the world."

Why he made choice of that creature.

Why the devil ſhould chuſe the body of a ſerpent, rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that ſubtlety aſcribed to him by Moſes; which may not, perhaps, ſo much denote the craft and inſidiouſneſs, as the familiar and inſinuating nature of this creature (H). That the ſerpent, before the fall, was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I); and had, by his engaging behaviour, gained, in ſome meaſure, the good will of our firſt parents, is not only the ſentiment of Jews and Chriſtians, but ſeems likewiſe to have ſome foundation in Scripture: for when God ſays, that he will put enmity between the ſerpent and the woman, and between his ſeed and her ſeed, it muſt be implied, that there was ſome kind of friendſhip between them before.

It is no way unreaſonable, therefore, to ſuppoſe, that this creature was beloved both by Adam and Eve: ſhe eſpecially might be delighted

(G) The Arabs, before Mohammed, believed, that the devils were tranſformed into ſerpents.

(H) The Mohammedans have a tradition, that the devil, offering to get into paradiſe, to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might ſpeak to Adam and his wife; but they all refuſed him, except the ſerpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and ſo introduced him.

(I) The Mohammedans alſo ſay, that the ſerpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the ſhape he now bears.

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with it: ſhe laid it, perhaps, in her boſom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being ſo intimate with the woman, made it the proper inſtrument for the devil's purpoſe; who, ſliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he inſenſibly brought her to the forbidden tree; and then, twiſting round its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to ſhew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to beſpeak her: and his ſpeech might be the leſs ſurpriſing to her, becauſe ſhe might probably think (as he might poſitively affirm), that this new-acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

Of what kind the ſerpent probably was.

But this conjecture is ſtill more probable, if we will but allow, that the ſerpent whoſe body the devil poſſeſſed was not of a common, ordinary ſpecies, but ſomething like that flying fiery ſort, which, as we are told, are bred in Arabia and Egypt. They are of a ſhining, yellowiſh colour, like braſs; and, by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the ſun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now, if the ſerpent whoſe body the devil abuſed was of this kind, (though perhaps of a ſpecies far more glorious), it was a proper creature for his purpoſe; for theſe ſerpents are called in Scripture *ſeraphs*, or *ſeraphim*, and gave name to thoſe bright angelical beings which we commonly underſtand by that appellation; it being very probable, from the repreſentations of them tolerated in the Jewiſh church, that the angels, when they miniſtered to Adam and Eve, were wont to aſſume certain ſplendid forms; ſome of them the form of cherubim, or beautiful flying oxen; and others the ſhape of ſeraphim, or winged and ſhining ſerpents. The devil, therefore, might uſurp the organs of one of theſe ſhining ſerpents, which, by his art and ſkill in natural cauſes, he might improve into ſuch a ſurpaſſing brightneſs, as to repreſent to Eve the angelical appearance or ſhechinah (K), to which ſhe was accuſtomed; and, having done this, it was no wonder that he ſo eaſily deceived her.

However this be, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was ſome beautiful creature, whom Eve took to be an angel, that wiſhed her well, while he diſcourſed with her: for it is impoſſible to conceive that ſhe ſhould be ſo ſimple and ignorant as to think that beaſts could ſpeak, much leſs that they knew more of God's mind than herſelf: nor ſeems it credible that ſhe could be deceived but by a creature which appeared ſo glorioufly, as to make her miſtake it for an heavenly miniſter, who might come to explain to her the divine commands. And, if we obſerve in what manner the tempter addreſſes himſelf to her (L), we ſhall find this ſuppoſition confirmed.

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(K) This ſeems to be the opinion of Tertullian, when he tells us, that Eve gave attention to the ſerpent, as to the Son of God, *&c.*

(L) The learned Abravanel ſuppoſes the whole to be only dumb-ſhew; and that the ſerpent did not ſpeak at all, neither did Eve ſay any thing to it; but

His accoſting Eve.

It is not improbable that the ſeducer, before he ſpoke to Eve, repreſented himſelf as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happineſs that God had beſtowed on them in paradiſe; which was ſo great, that he could not eaſily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he deſired therefore to be ſatisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and, as the woman acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he firſt ſuggeſts, that ſhe miſtook the meaning of it; that death could not be the puniſhment of ſo ſmall a fault; and, to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a falſe promiſe, that, on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a ſovereign quality to illuminate the underſtanding, and ennoble the other faculties of the ſoul, ſhe and her huſband ſhould immediately become as angels, nay, as gods; and their happineſs be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themſelves.

This ſeems to have been the purport of the ſerpent's words, by which he gained the ear of Eve; and ſhe, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and puſhed on by curioſity and vanity, could not reſiſt the temptation; and, when ſhe had eat, was ſo far from being ſenſible of her condition, that, fancying herſelf already in poſſeſſion of the chimerical happineſs which had been promiſed her, ſhe invited her huſband to partake with her. And he, it is probable, after ſome reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments, to violate the command, contrary to his ſenſe of duty, and to ſhare the fate which God's indignation for her tranſgreſſion ſhould bring upon her.

The ſentence denounced on the ſerpent cannot ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider how different his original form was from his preſent; and that God probably intended the debaſement of that once glorious creature, not ſo much to expreſs his indignation againſt the beaſt, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a teſtimony of his diſpleaſure againſt ſin. Nor could this be unjuſt; the mere inſtrument of an enormous crime being deteſtable, and often deſtroyed by human laws, and this great change in the ſerpent, perhaps, not felt, at leaſt, not diſtinguiſhed or conceived by him as a misfortune.

In reference to the two trees, which ſeem to be ſo very extraordinary, it is but reaſonable to imagine there was a wide difference between the ſtate of innocence, and our preſent condition; and conſequently, that there were ſome things conſonant to the firſt ſtate, which are very incongruous to our preſent. Now, of thoſe Moſes has mentioned but a few,

but that, being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took and eat of the fruit; that Eve, having ſeen it ſeveral times do ſo, and not die, concluded with herſelf, that the ſaid fruit did not occaſion death; and that it might not only be grateful to the taſte, but procure them that knowledge, which God ſeemed to have grudged them.

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and, among them, theſe trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a ſtate of innocence, which ſeems to imply a ſtate of immortality; and ſomething was requiſite to make men immortal, when their bodies were not ſo; and what can be ſuppoſed more effectual than the fruit of ſuch a tree? When God had deſigned that mens bodies ſhould never yield to death, it ſeems but reaſonable he ſhould direct them to the eating of ſuch a fruit, whoſe juice was of that ſpirituous nature, as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigour, and ſupport them in unfading youth, without pain, diſeaſe or weakneſs, till ſuch time as he ſhould tranſlate them to a better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the ſpecies, is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable, that, had there been no lapſe, many of them would have been tranſplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent offſpring had encreaſed; and, when mankind had ſinned, it is likely God would have deſtroyed this ſpecies out of the world, as now grown uſeleſs, and inconſiſtent with the curſe and puniſhment of man. And of this tree the Heathens ſeem to have had ſome traditional notion, when they ſpeak of the *nectar* and *ambroſia*, which maintained the immortality of their gods, and *moly*, which was the great panacea, or univerſal medicine celebrated by the poets.

The account of the two trees not incredible.

The tree of the knowledge of good and evil is conceived to have been ſo called, either becauſe it had really a virtue to open man's underſtanding, and to make him diſtinguiſh between good and evil; or elſe becauſe the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the good of obedience, and the evil of tranſgreſſion: but others ſuppoſe it ſo called, merely from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to beſtow knowledge, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be, in a preceding paſſage, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, by way of anticipation. And as to God's ſaying, "Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil;" that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his fooliſh diſobedience and diſappointment.

But what particular tree this tree of knowledge was, has been a matter of much conjecture. The vine, the apple, the common and Indian fig-tree (N), and wheat, though no tree, have all put in their claims

(M) It is the joint opinion of the beſt ancient writers, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, that in caſe our firſt parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after ſuch a time of trial as the divine wiſdom ſhould think proper, have been tranſlated or removed from earth to heaven; and that their poſterity likewiſe would have been liable to no ſorrow or miſery of any kind, but poſſeſſed of conſtant happineſs, and, in their ſeveral courſes and ſucceſſions, taken up into an heavenly paradiſe.

(N) Goropius Becanus is moſt confident, it was the Indian fig tree; which notion, however, he did not borrow from Moſes Barcephas, as Sir Walter

claims (O): and though the generality are for the common fig-tree, yet what Moſes has ſo induſtriouſly concealed, is above the power of any to diſcover. Philo the Jew, according to his cuſtom, allegorizes what is ſaid of both theſe trees, alledging that no ſuch ever were, nor ever will be, in the world (P).

The trial by forbidding a fruit, rational.

That the trial of man's obedience ſhould be by ſuch a prohibition as is mentioned by Moſes, ſeems perfectly rational, and adapted to the ſtate of innocence: no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpoſe, becauſe there was then ſcarce a poſſibility of

Walter Raleigh ſuppoſes. The chief reaſons urged why it ſhould be this tree, are, 1. The goodneſs of the fruit, and fairneſs of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedneſs of Adam and Eve, which, it is ſuppoſed, they would cover as ſoon as ever they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeneſs and thickneſs of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the preſence of God. But here Becanus, from the words of the vulgate verſion, *in medio ligni*, imagined they hid themſelves in the body of the tree itſelf, though the ſtem of the Indian fig-tree, notwithſtanding the extravagant ſize given it by ſome authors, be not very large. As Sir Walter Raleigh, who had himſelf ſeen many of theſe trees in America, has given a deſcription of them, we think it worth while to tranſcribe it: "They grow," ſays he, "in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: after they are firſt ſhot up "ſome twenty or thirty foot in "length (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the ſoil), they ſpread a "very large top, having no bough "nor twig in the trunk or ſtem; for "from the utmoſt end of the head-branches, there iſſueth out a gummy "juice, which hangeth downward "like a cord or ſinew, and within a "few months reacheth the ground; "which it no ſooner toucheth, but it "taketh root; and then, being filled, "both from the top boughs, and from "his own proper root, this cord "maketh itſelf a tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughs of "theſe young trees there fall again "the like cords, which in one year, "and leſs (in that world of perpetual "ſpring), become alſo trees of the "bigneſs of the nether part of a lance, "and as ſtrait as nature and art can "make any thing; caſting ſuch a "ſhade, and making ſuch a grove, as "no other tree in the world can do. "Now, one of theſe trees, conſidered "with all his young ones, may, indeed ſhroud four hundred, or four "thouſand horſemen, if they pleaſe; "for they cover whole valleys.—But "that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, "or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could "never find."

(O) The Mohammedans have the like different opinions among them, relating to this tree: ſome affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others, a fig-tree; and a third party, a vine.

(P) Thoſe who admire allegorical interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the ſenſual act of generation, for which the puniſhment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth. But this opinion has not the leaſt foundation in the words of Moſes; eſpecially if we conſider, that Adam knew not his wife till after their expulſion out of paradiſe.

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their transgressing any such: it must therefore have been some indifferent action, neither good nor evil in itself, but so far only as it was commanded or forbidden: and what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden), as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them, every moment, an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it?

And the punishment consequently just.

And this takes off the objection against the punishment inflicted on man for his disobedience, as too severe, and no way proportioned to the offence: for we are deceived, if we suppose, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of God. And, considering this crime to have been a downright rebellion against God, and committed against the clearest conviction of conscience, with other aggravating circumstances; it will appear to have been a crime so heinous, that nothing, now-a-days, can be supposed to resemble it.

The circumstances of the aprons and coats explained.

No sooner was the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree gone off, and the criminals began to return to their senses again, but the eyes (Q) of their understanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedness (R), and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they were able, they twisted or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waists; so that the broad leaves, hanging down, might serve them instead of aprons: for we must not imagine, that they sewed the leaves

(Q) The expression, that *the eyes of them both were opened*, occasioned a popular belief that Adam and Eve were blind till they had transgressed; and this imagination St Austin has taken the pains to refute.

(R) By perceiving their nakedness, a late writer conceives, no more is meant, than that they were sensible of their transgression. Thus after the golden calf was consecrated, Moses is said to have seen the people *naked*, (Exod. xxxii. 25.). And in the New Testament γυμνὸς is sometimes taken for a sinner. Others indeed suppose, that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our first parents to lust and some indecent motions of the body: for, according to the modesty of the Hebrew tongue, *nakedness* may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleasures (and this is the opinion of St Austin mentioned hereafter.) But our author thinks this conjecture is without any manner of foundation; and that it is hard to conceive how Adam and Eve should not know themselves to be naked before their fall; or why they should be more ashamed of their nakedness then, than they were before. When they were the only inhabitants of the world, their bed, under the canopy of heaven, was equally as chaste as if it had been covered and enclosed; and therefore this nakedness of theirs must, in his opinion, be understood in a figurative sense.

together, as taylors do their cloth; this being more than the words of Moſes imply (S).

Judgment being paſſed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is ſaid, that God, before he drove Adam and Eve out of paradiſe, cloathed them with ſkins: which it is ſuppoſed is not neceſſarily to be underſtood, as if God himſelf, or even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the Hebrew tongue verbally to attribute things to God, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permiſſion of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable, Adam and Eve only received inſtructions how to make them.

The cherubim and flaming ſword, what.

As to the cherubim and flaming ſword placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are ſeveral opinions concerning them. They who place paradiſe in the ſouthern hemiſphere, conceive the ſword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel ſituation the earth is then ſuppoſed to have had, muſt have been a region of flame intolerably hot, like a furnace, and, conſequently, impaſſable; its incompaſſing the whole earth ſufficiently anſwering the Moſaic deſcription, that it turned every way. Others have thought it to have been a wall, or circle of fire, encompaſſing paradiſe (T); and that this flame was an accenſion of ſome inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradiſe about Babylon, where there is ſuch an abundance of naphtha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which even yet, at ſome time of the year, ſeem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubim had nothing to do with ſuch a wall; it is anſwered, that it is uſual for the Scriptures to expreſs all extraordinary works of God by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a deſtroying angel; and the like. Some Rabbins are of opinion, that this flaming ſword was an angel; which they ground on that paſſage, where it is ſaid, that God maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming ſword, which was eſteemed by the Jews a ſecond angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, *viz.* a ſeraph, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery ſerpent, whoſe body vibrated in the air with luſtre, and may be fitly deſcribed by the image of ſuch a ſword.

Having thus examined the circumſtances of the fall, it may be pro-

(S) The original word תפרו, which is tranſlated *ſewed*, ſignifies no more than to *put together*, to *apply*, or *fit*; in which ſenſe it is uſed, Job xvi. 15. and Ezek. xiii. 18. And תאנה, which we render *leaves*, ſignifies alſo branches of trees, ſuch as were fit to make booths or bowers; Nehem. viii. 15.

(T) The words commonly rendered *flaming ſword*, are, in the original, the *flame of cutting* or *diviſion*, or a *dividing flame*: for the ſame word which ſignifies a *ſword*, ſignifies alſo *diviſion*; and is, in the New Teſtament, tranſlated both ways.

per

per to conſider the effects it had upon our firſt parents, and their poſterity, and alſo upon the ground, which was curſed for their ſake.

The effects of the fall, on man, and on the ground.

The unhappy pair did not, indeed, die immediately; but they became ſubject to death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live being but as the ſpace between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had loſt God's favour, and forfeited paradiſe: the neceſſaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: ſo that the remembrance of their paſt happineſs, and the proſpect of the innumerable miſeries to which they had made themſelves, and their offspring, obnoxious, muſt needs fill them with regret and deſpair. For ſince they could not, by generation, tranſmit any thing to their poſterity, but what they had themſelves; their deſcendants were deſtined, in like manner, to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the neceſſary conſequences of Adam's tranſgreſſion: nor is there in this, any injuſtice; we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of God's wrath, and deſerving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of Adam's ſin (which is the doctrine of St Auſtin and his diſciples, thence named *Supralapſarians*), has ſeemed, to many, a very harſh opinion, and to reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of God.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines, and foreign to our preſent deſign, we ſhall only ſay, that the general manifeſt depravity and corruption of human nature, ſo very different from what we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been in its original ſtate, would induce us to believe it the effect of our firſt parents tranſgreſſion; whereupon, unruly paſſions and appetites got that ſuperiority over, and influence on our wills, which reaſon alone ought to have; and this might be poſſibly occaſioned, in ſome degree at leaſt, by the infirmities which our bodies neceſſarily contracted by proceeding from ſuch a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curſe. For whatever the antients have ſaid of the plenty and happineſs of the golden age, ſeems chiefly to have been ſome broken notions and traditions of man's firſt eſtate in paradiſe, and of that univerſal harmony wherein the world, and all things would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at firſt ſpontaneous; and the ſoil, without being torn and tormented, ſatisfied the wants and deſires of man; but, upon his apoſtacy from God, as a puniſhment for his ſin, God curſed the ground, which immediately brought forth thorns and thiſtles: for we muſt not ſuppoſe, with ſome, that the original fertility of the earth continued till the deſtruction brought upon it by the univerſal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curſe, but ſome conſiderable effects of it appeared before; otherwiſe, how could Adam be ſaid to eat bread in ſorrow, and in the ſweat of his face, all the days of his life? As the earth was impoveriſhed on man's tranſgreſſion, ſo the

air,

air, and other elements became disordered, in some measure unwholsome, and sometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, pestilences, earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities, which caused an innumerable variety of diseases and distempers.

But, in order to give a more clear idea in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall, it may be proper to consider the constitution of man's body (for what concerns his soul is not properly within the compass of this design) and of the earth in that primitive state; and by what means they were reduced to their present condition.

The change in the constitution of man.

As to the constitution of man's body, it appears, that nakedness was then no inconvenience or shame; and, consequently, there was no sense of any need to cover it. Those inclinations which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it seems, so regular, and so entirely under the command of reason, that not so much as an apron was esteemed necessary to hide those parts which all the world since have thought proper to conceal. But some have imagined, that, in case man had persevered in his state of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would have been otherwise propagated (V); and this the antient fathers were inclined to believe, from their prepossession in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy. This opinion St Austin combated by very strong arguments; such as the benediction of God, and his command to encrease and multiply; the distinction of the sexes preceding the fall; and the absurdity of supposing sin to have been necessary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that in the state of innocence the work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of passion, or loss of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his species, whenever he judged it requisite, without any incitement of lust. In the primitive state, also, the temper of the human body seems to have been more soft, pliable, and alterable, than now it is: some sorts of fruits and food were able to cause a mighty change therein, either to fix and adapt it to its present condition, or discompose and disorder it. Thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowledge, of bringing upon it diseases, corruptions, and mortality, on the other: but the first effect of this latter fruit is supposed to have been the revolt of the parts subservient to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the shame which immediately seized those who had tasted it (W). And, to say the truth, since man, in his fallen state, was un-

(V) Paracelsus was so firmly persuaded of this, that he maintained Adam and Eve to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies, like excrescences.

(W) Some Rabbins, also, seem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit.

able

able to conform himſelf to the dictates of reaſon, love was neceſſarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwiſe it is not conceived how mankind could have ſubſiſted: ſo that the paſſions were then raiſed, in order to induce man to do that to ſatisfy his appetite, which before he did merely from prudential conſiderations.

There was alſo a conſiderable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which ſhe has ſince been in; particularly, ſhe was then in a ſtate of greater equality with the man, and little more ſubject to ſorrow in the propagation of poſterity than he. Nay, the very animals ſeem to have been, at that time, in a ſtate of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reaſon and diſcourſe, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happineſs than they have been ever ſince.

The change in the conſtitution of the earth, how effected, acccording to Dr Burnet;

Wherein the fecundity and amenity of the primitive earth conſiſted, and by what means it became ſo much altered for the worſe, is difficult to be determined. It is, indeed, preſently accounted for, if we have recourſe to the divine interpoſition, and ſuppoſe that the ſterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature, was effected by God, or his ſubordinate agents. But to aſſign a probable natural cauſe of ſuch effects, is not ſo eaſy. Dr Burnet's notion is, that the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth was entirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the conſequence of the ſituation of its axis, which he ſuppoſes to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the ſun with the other planets. And that it really had ſuch a ſituation, he thinks, needs no other proof than its own evidence; for it is the immediate reſult and common effect of gravity or libration, that a body left freely to itſelf, in a fluid medium, ſhould ſettle in ſuch a poſture as beſt anſwers to its gravitation: and the firſt earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally balanced, there was no reaſon why it ſhould incline at one end, more than the other, towards the ſun. And this poſition, he ſuppoſes, the earth kept till the deluge; when it was ſo broken and divided, according to his hypotheſis, that it loſt its equal poiſe; and the centre of its gravity changing, one pole became more inclined to the ſun, and the other more removed from it; and ſo the parallel ſituation which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of ſeaſons, and thoſe irregularities in the temperature of the air, which have ſince obtained. But this does not account for the immediate effect of God's curſe on the earth, which, as has been obſerved, muſt by no means be deferred ſo late as to the flood.

—and Mr Whiſton.

To avoid this difficulty, Mr Whiſton has ſuppoſed, that the earth, in its primitive ſtate, had no diurnal motion about its own axis, but only an annual motion about the ſun; ſo that the ſun and planets then roſe

roſe in the weſt, and ſet in the eaſt, contrary to what they have ever ſince done (X).

On this ſuppoſition, as well as the former, there would alſo be a perpetual equinox through the world; which characters the fathers uſually applied to the paradiſiacal ſtate, and the antient Heathens to the golden age. The great change, therefore, which was made in nature, at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion, or rotation of the earth about its preſent axis: by this means, the poles of the world, which, to the firſt inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the interſection of the antient ecliptic with the preſent northern tropic), were neither conſiderably elevated nor depreſſed, ſuddenly changed their ſituation; the northern pole appearing to be elevated above, and the ſouthern depreſſed below the horizon: and the courſe of the heavens ſeemed bent, or inclined to the ſouthern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical cauſe of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued ſome time, aſſigned by him, is the impulſe of a comet, with little or no atmoſphere, or of a central ſolid hitting obliquely upon the earth along ſome parts of its preſent equator; from which impulſe, both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion, about a new and real axis, would certainly commence. And he obſerves, that, in all probability, this comet was of the bigneſs of one of the ſmall ſecondary, rather than of the large primary planets:

(X) This, he thinks, may have been the foundation of that ſtory in Herodotus, who tells us, that the ſun, in the ſpace of eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his courſe, and roſe in the weſt. But what he mainly depends on, is that diſcourſe in Plato, where relating ſome very ancient traditions (as he expreſsly ſays they are, and delivered by our firſt parents to their poſterity) about the primitive ſtate of things, he ſays, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the ſun and other ſtars formerly ſetting in the ſame place where they now riſe, and riſing where they now ſet; which change he attributes to God, who ſometimes directs the motion of the univerſe himſelf, and, at other times, after ſo many periodical revolutions as he ſees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, ſpontaneouſly carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change Plato reckons the greateſt, and moſt entire, of any the heavenly bodies undergo.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much inſiſted upon by the ancients. Plutarch tells us, that Leucippus was of opinion, the earth fell towards the ſouth, becauſe of the rareneſs of thoſe parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the ſouthern were ſcorched, or on fire. Democritus and Empedocles gave nearly the ſame reaſon for it; and Diogenes and Anaxagoras ſpecify the very time when this happened; *viz.* after the firſt coalition of the world, and the production of animals out of the earth: and they thought this inclination was, probably, the effect of providence, on purpoſe that ſome parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reaſon of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof.

for

for otherwiſe, by its cauſing vaſt tides in the abyſs, after it was paſſed by, it would have occaſioned many more alterations in the earth than we have reaſon to believe happened at that time (Z).

But, beſides the impreſſion of this new motion, another effect of ſuch a colliſion of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipſis, as it was from the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr Whiſton ſuppoſes the reduction of the very oblong eccentrical orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greateſt part at the commencing of the Moſaic creation, and the reſt at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being ſuppoſed, and that providence adjuſted all circumſtances ſo as ſhould be moſt for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradiſe, where, alone, Adam and the other creatures dwelt in this ſtate; we ſhall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentrical ellipſis, without any diurnal rotation about the ſun, in the ſpace of a year: we ſhall have ſome diameter of the earth which paſſed near paradiſe, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipſis, and the place of paradiſe reſpecting nearly the ſame fixed ſtars with the *perihelion* of the ellipſis. Which being again ſuppoſed, we may obſerve, that as a circular orbit is much the beſt for a globe inhabited all round, (as the earth was deſigned to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemiſpheres; ſo is this elliptic orbit the beſt for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive ſtate; this providing peculiarly for the happineſs of that particular ſpot, where alone the living part of the creation was to reſide. For the heat of the day-time would gradually encreaſe before, and decreaſe after noon, but yet would never be over violent; becauſe the increaſe of the heat, by the ſun's riſing higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon or ſpring, would be prevented, in a great meaſure, by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his *aphelion*, during the ſame time: and *vice verſâ* in the afternoon, or ſummer; which would render the ſtate of the air more equal and uniform. And thus alſo, the too long duration of the night would be entirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a ſmall proportion to the day, and amount, perhaps, to no

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till ſome time after the annual, Mr Whiſton imagines to be evinced from the late diſcovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are ſuppoſed to ariſe. The poles of this interior magnet, being, as they ſuppoſe, diſtant from the earth's axis, ſlowly change their places in reſpect of the external earth, by a motion weſtward: whence he concludes, that the encloſed magnet, or nucleus, has not attained the ſame velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution; becauſe the impulſe by which the diurnal motion was firſt impreſſed upon the external earth, has not yet been ſo perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the firſt motion impreſſed, and ſtill preſerved, by the ſuperior parts of the globe.

more than two months; out of which must be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkness of the night itself to about a single month; out of which another fortnight is to be still deducted, for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightening the earth: so that, at last, if the moon's *crepuscula* be allowed for, as they ought to be, we shall scarce have a week of pure darkness in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly paradisiacal state; wherein there would be a constant warmth, without the frequent interposition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and susceptible of the utmost power of the solar heat; and the seasons equable, or gradually distinguished from one another; with other natural consequences. But so soon as man had rendered himself unworthy of that happy state, and God had pronounced a curse on the ground, presently the earth began a new and strange motion, and revolved from west to east upon its own axis: the succession of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, distinguished the seasons, and, in conjunction with the diurnal, described the equator and the tropics; by which, and the polar circles, the face of the earth was distinguished into zones, with respect whereto the particular regions of the earth changed their situation; so that paradise, which was before near the middle, or ecliptic, was now beyond the northern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly spherical, degenerated into an oblate spheroid; and the torrid zone rising about fifteen or sixteen miles upwards, and the frigid one subsiding as much downwards, the *compages* of the upper earth, and of its *strata*, became thereby chapped and broken, and so carried up the warm steams from beneath, arising from the hot central solid, to particular receptacles and *volcanos*, which before served, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the entire earth, and its productions. In these, and other circumstances, was the state of nature altered for the worse on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

SECT. III.

The chronology from the creation to the deluge stated.

BEfore we enter on the history of the antediluvian world, it will be necessary that we should settle the chronology of this period.

As Moses has not set down the particular time of any transaction before the flood, except only the years of the father's age, wherein the several descendants of Adam, in the line of Seth, were begotten, and the length of their several lives; all we can do in this period, is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of those patriarchs, and the distance of time from the creation to the deluge.

And

And this might be easily done, if there were no varieties in the several copies we now have of Moses's writings, which are, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Greek version of the Septuagint: but as these differ very considerably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions concerning the chronology of the first ages of the world; some preferring one copy, and some another.

That the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we shall, in the following table, subjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add those of Josephus, as corrected by Dr Wells and Mr Whiston, the numbers in the present copies of that historian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE *of the years of the antediluvian patriarchs.*

	Their ages at their sons birth.				Years they lived after the sons birth,			Length of their lives.		
	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Jos.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Adam, - -	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth, - - -	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enos, - - -	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
Cainan, - -	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
Mahalaleel, -	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
Jared, - -	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	962	847	962
Enoch, - -	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
Methuselah, -	187	67	187	187	782	653	802	969	720	696
Lamech, - -	182	53	188	182	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah was aged at the flood,	600	600	600	600						
To the Flood,	1656	1307	2262	1556						

As we have chosen to follow, in this edition, the chronology of the learned Usher, grounded on the Hebrew whole numbers, after the flood, we have done the same in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the Samaritan or Septuagint, by those who prefer the accounts of those copies.

SECT. IV.

The history of the antediluvian patriarchs.

WHERE Adam dwelt after his expulsion from paradise, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now consummated his marriage with Eve, which, as the words of Moses seem to imply, he had not done before the fall (G). The eldest son of Adam, named Cain, was born probably in the first year of the world; and his second, Abel (H), the year following (I). When they were grown up, they

(F) The eastern tradition is, that Adam went into India, and did penance on the mountain thence named Pico de Adam, in the isle of Ceylon, for several years. Some Rabbins pretend, that he was separated from Eve for 130 years, and lived with another woman named Lilith, formed out of the ground like himself; during which time he begat daemons on her, as the devils did on Eve. Maimonides supposes, that by those daemons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of Adam were before Seth, whom he is therefore said to have begotten in his own likeness and after his image. The Mohammedans say, that, when they were cast down from paradise, Adam fell on Ceylon, and Eve near Joddah in Arabia; and that, after a separation of 200 years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arafat; and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species.

(G) Yet some Rabbins, as R. Solomon Yarhi, and R. Moses Haddarshan, were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as father Bartolocci assures us, whose words we subjoin, (to shew what abominable imaginations some men are capable of), but desire to be excused the translating of them. *De protoparente Adamo ita sinistre sentiunt, ut ipsum etiam nefariae incontinentiae quod referre pudet, insimulent; et ante Evae formationem omnia jumenta feraeque campi carnaliter cognovisse aiunt.*

(H) Some Rabbins imagined, that Cain and Abel were twins (which Calvin also supposed); but that Cain was the offspring of the devil, or Sammael, who first lay with Eve; and that she afterwards, by superfetation, conceived Abel by Adam. Some heretics fansied both Cain and Abel to have been the issue of the devil.

(I) The name Cain signifies an *acquisition*, or *possession*, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קָנָה *kana*, *to acquire*. Abel, or rather Hebel, signifies *vanity*, and not *mourning*, as Josephus and Eusebius suppose.

The Arab authors say, that before Cabil (for so they call Cain) Adam had a son named Abd'alhâreth, on the following occasion. When Eve was big with her first child, the devil came to her, and asked her if she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it. She being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter; who, not knowing what

they betook themselves to distinct employments; the former of them to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep. And their inward dispositions were still more different, Cain being wicked and avaritious, but Abel just and virtuous.

Cain and Abel, their offerings.

In process of time the two brothers brought their respective offerings to God (K), Cain of the fruit of the ground, and Abel of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof (L): but they met with very different

to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that, as he knew the mysterious name of God, he would, in virtue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of God, that Eve might be safely delivered of a son in his (Adam's) own likeness, provided he would promise to call his name Abd'alhâreth, or *the servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name in heaven), instead of Abd'allah, or the servant of God, as Adam had designed. This Adam and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died. The parents are taxed with this in the Koran, as an act looking towards idolatry. But the whole story seems to have no other foundation, than Cain's being called by Moses Obed-adamah, *i. e. a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated by the Arabs Abd'alhâreth.

Abu'lfaragius says, Cain was born in the thirtieth year of the world, with a twin sister, whom that author calls Klimia, Eutychius Azrûn, and others Kalmanna; and that, thirty years after, Abel was born with a twin sister also, named Lebûdha, or Lefura, by Eutychius, (who says Lefura was her Greek name), Owain, and by others Delborah.

(K) It has been supposed by some (but without any ground), that they brought their offerings to Adam, to offer for them.

The oriental tradition makes these sacrifices to have been offered, and Cain's malice excited against his brother, on the following occasion. When they were grown up, in the one hundredth and thirtieth year of the world, according to Abu'lfaragius, Adam proposed to Eve, that Cain should marry Abel's twin sister, and Abel Cain's. But this Cain refused to agree to, insisting to have his own sister, who was the handsomest of the two. Adam hereupon was greatly displeased, because it was against the divine command, that he should marry his twin sister (for, it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since Cain and Abel must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree); and ordered his sons to make their offerings, before they took their wives, referring the dispute, probably, to God's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpose, the devil put it into Cain's head to rid himself of his brother; for which wicked intent his sacrifice was not accepted; and they were no sooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on Abel, and killed him with a stone. Thus was a woman, according to this story, the occasion of the first quarrel in the world; *nam fuit ante Helenam, &c.*

(L) The opinion of those who think

rent ſucceſs; for God had reſpect to, or accepted the offering of Abel, but Cain's he did not accept (M). At this preference, Cain was ſo enraged, and tranſported with envy againſt his brother, that he could not help ſhewing it by his countenance. God, however, condeſcended to expoſtulate the matter with him, and aſked him what reaſon he had to be angry; ſince, if he did well, he ſhould be accepted; and he could blame none but himſelf for what was the conſequence of his own ill behaviour; and, in particular, he could not juſtly be angry with Abel, who had no deſign to ſupplant him, and ſhould always pay him the reſpect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had ſo little effect on Cain, that, on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he roſe up againſt Abel his brother, and ſlew him (N), and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murder.

Abel murdered.

After

think Abel did not kill or offer the animals themſelves, but only their milk and wool, will be conſidered hereafter, when we enquire into the origin of ſacrifices.

(M) Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing but the wickedneſs and ill diſpoſition of Cain, and the righteouſneſs and faith of Abel; yet it has been imagined, that Cain's ill ſucceſs was owing to ſome defect in his offering, or his preſenting the worſt part of it to God, and reſerving the beſt to himſelf. The reaſon given by Joſephus is very frivolous: he ſays, that God was more delighted with Abel's offering, as being the ſpontaneous production of nature; and diſpleaſed with Cain's, becauſe it was forced by the art and induſtry of a covetous man.

In what viſible manner God declared his acceptance of Abel's offering, is not expreſſed by Moſes. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven deſcended on the ſacrifice, and conſumed it, but did not touch Cain's. This is ſupported by the verſion of Theodotion, who tranſlates the word פשע, which we render *had reſpect unto*, επεκαυσεν, *he ſet on fire*; the uſual ſign whereby God has been pleaſed to teſtify his approbation in other inſtances. The Mohammedans likewiſe affirm the ſame thing. And the heathens themſelves boaſted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in ſome particular places.

(N) Before the commiſſion of the fact, Moſes tells us, according to the Engliſh tranſlation, that Cain talked with Abel his brother. The words ſtrictly ſignify, Cain ſaid unto Abel his brother: after which there is a blank ſpace left in the Hebrew copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The Samaritan, Pentateuch, and Septuagint verſion ſupply this, by adding the words, 'Let us go into the field:' but the Jeruſalem Targum, and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel, have obliged us with the whole converſation. Says Cain, "There is no future judgment, "nor judge, nor life after this, nor "reward for the juſt, nor puniſhment "for the wicked: the world was "neither created, nor is governed by "the mercy of God; foraſmuch as "thy oblation was accepted, and "mine rejected." To which Abel anſwers, "There is a future judg-"ment, and a judge, and a life to "come: there is both a reward for

"the

After the commiſſion of this horrid fact, Cain, being queſtioned by God about his brother, returned an evaſive anſwer, that he knew not what was become of him, churliſhly aſking, "If he was his brother's "keeper?" But God ſoon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a puniſhment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful ſoil, which ſhould not reward his labour with the plenty and encreaſe he had before experienced. This ſentence, though it fell ſhort of the heinouſneſs of his guilt, was yet thought too ſevere by Cain, who complained, That "his "puniſhment

Cain's puniſhment.

"the juſt, and a puniſhment for the "unjuſt: the world was created, and "is governed by the mercy of God. "And becauſe my works are better "than thine, therefore was my obla-"tion accepted, and thine rejected." Upon which enſued the quarrel which ended in Abel's murder. An ill beginning of religious controverſy! Mohammed has alſo, in his Koran, inſerted the debate between the two brothers, ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe.

The time, place, and manner of this murder are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of Seth, who was appointed inſtead of Abel: but St Auſtin will not allow Seth to be the next ſon which Eve had after Abel's death; ſuppoſing that expreſſion to mean no more, than that Seth ſucceeded that righteous perſon in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that Adam aſſigned his ſons their ſeveral employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as Euſebius ſays he did); that Cain and Abel made their offerings *A. M.* 100; and that, thirty years after, Abel was killed. But neither reaſon nor Scripture lead us to believe, that Cain concealed his reſentment ſo many years. The place where Abel was ſlain, according to an antient tradition, is ſaid to be ſtill ſhewn at the foot of an hill near Damaſcus. As to the manner wherein Cain committed this murder, there is a great variety of opinions. Eutychius and the Arabs ſay, he ſtruck him on the head with a ſtone; ſome Jews tell us, that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed him with the jaw-bone of an aſs, which is the weapon the painters generally put into Cain's hand: ſome arm him with a fork; St Chryſoſtom, with a ſword; St Irenaeus, with a ſcythe; and Prudentius, with a pruning-hook.

Whether Abel was a married man, or not, has been diſputed. Some of the antient fathers have maintained the affirmative, as did alſo ſome heretics called Abelians. But it is improbable he ſhould continue ſingle, if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for ſuch continency. Nor do St Jerom and St Auſtin ſeem to doubt of his being married, tho' Moſes makes no mention of his offſpring.

The Rabbins, and ſome Chriſtians, ſay that Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years, during which time they lived ſeparate: Adam particularly in a valley near Hebron, thence named *the valley of tears*. The inhabitants of Ceylon pretend, that the ſalt lake on the mountain of Colombo was formed by the tears which Eve ſhed on this occaſion.

" puniſhment was greater than he could bear;" ſince he was to be baniſhed from the preſence of God, and from his near relations; and, being a vagabond and friendleſs, would be in danger of being killed by the next that ſhould meet him (K). But God told him, that whoever ſlew Cain, vengeance ſhould be taken on him ſeven-fold; and, the more effectually to ſecure him from that apprehenſion, was pleaſed to give him a ſign (L), (probably by ſome ſenſible miracle), that none that met him ſhould take away his life.

Cain,

(K) Theſe words of Cain are variouſly interpreted. The firſt ſentence, which our verſion renders, " My puniſhment is greater than I " can bear," ſome tranſlate, " My " ſin is greater than can be forgiven," (for עון ſignifies *iniquity* rather than *puniſhment*, and נשא *to forgive* as well as *to bear*); and others interrogatively, " Is my ſin too great to be for- " given?" which laſt is the ſenſe followed by the Hebrew expoſitors, and ſeems to be the beſt. The latter words, in the Engliſh tranſlation, " And it ſhall come to paſs, that e- " very one that findeth me ſhall ſlay " me," have alſo been rendered, " I " wiſh that any perſon that findeth " me may kill me."

That there were ſuch numbers of men in the world at the time of Abel's murder, that Cain might juſtly apprehend ſome danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increaſe of mankind before the flood. Mr Bayle thinks, that Cain was not ſo much afraid of his kindred, the deſcendants of Adam, (though he might juſtly fear the reſentment of Abel's children, if he left any), but of ſome ſtrangers whom he apprehended he ſhould meet in his baniſhment, where he would be friendleſs, and have none to ſupport him; and therefore ſuppoſes, that, in his fright, he either did not conſider there were no men but what were the offſpring of his father, or elſe feigned an apprehenſion, to move God's compaſſion. But we conceive there will be no occaſion for either of thoſe ſuppoſitions, if we conſider in how few deſcents the degrees of kindred, at leaſt of affection, decreaſe, and at length vaniſh; and that Cain might juſtly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vaſt numbers of men, which he could not but think would, in a few years, overſpread the earth, and have probably little knowledge of, or reſpect for him.

(L) This is the true ſenſe of this paſſage, and not that God " ſet a " mark upon" Cain, according to the common expoſition; in purſuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some ſay, that God ſtigmatized Cain on the forehead with a letter, which was to ſerve him as a paſſport, being taken either from the name of Abel, or the ineffable name of God, or from the word repentance; that every one might perceive Cain had repented. Others ſay this mark conſiſted of three letters, which compoſed the name of the Sabbath; or elſe that it was the ſign of the croſs. Others ſuppoſe, that Abel's dog was given him as a conſtant companion, either to warn people not to attack him, or to prevent his taking any dangerous road. Others ſay, that his face was covered with leproſy. Others, that the mark was nothing

but

Cain, ſoon after this unfortunate affair, having wandered about for ſome time, at length ſettled with his wife and family in the land of Nod; where he built a city, and called it, after the name of his ſon, *Enoch*.

He goes into baniſhment, and builds a city.

Where the land of Nod (which word ſignifies *wandering*) was ſituate, is uncertain. Moſes places it, according to our tranſlation, on the eaſt of Eden; and it has been obſerved, that Ptolemy mentions a city called *Anuchtha* in Suſiana, or *Khuzeſtán*, a country eaſt-ward from Chaldea: which ſituation, and the near reſemblance of the name *Anuchtha* to the original *Hanokh*, (for *tha* is ſuppoſed to be only the Chaldee termination), induced the learned Huet to believe it to be the ſame with that built by Cain. But it ſeems very improbable, that the city of Enoch, built before the flood ſhould either withſtand the deluge, or retain its antient name, after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, Suſiana being a very fertile and pleaſant country, it is not likely Cain ſhould be baniſhed thither, but rather to ſome barren and deſolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and ſeparated by mountains, or other natural obſtructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reaſon Grotius and Junius are of opinion, that the country into which Cain retired was the deſert of Arabia; but that lying on the weſt, and not on the eaſt of Eden, to remove ſo formidable an objection, it is ſaid, that the words, which we tranſlate "on the eaſt of Eden," ſignify no more than "before," or "over againſt Eden," as the Septuagint have rendered it.

When Cain built this city, cannot be conjectured by any circumſtance recorded by Moſes; but it is probable he did it not till many years after his baniſhment, and when his poſterity was greatly encreaſed. Philo ſuppoſes he alſo built ſix other cities, named Maich, Jared, Tehe, Jeſca, Selet and Gebat; but what foundation he had for it, we cannot conceive.

Joſephus ſays, that the puniſhment inflicted upon Cain was ſo far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worſe, and became a reprobate to all

Grows more wicked.

ſenſe

but a wild aſpect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in an horrid manner. Moſt of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth. The Septuagint verſion favours this opinion; for, inſtead of a *fugitive and a vagabond*, they have tranſlated στένων καὶ τρέμων *lamenting and trembling*; and the Hebrew words do indeed import a reſtleſſneſs and uneaſineſs of mind, with which Cain is ſuppoſed to have been afflicted all his life. Some ſay, that, where-ever he ſtopped, the earth ſhook and trembled around him. Others pretend, that God inſpired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that Cain had an horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him.

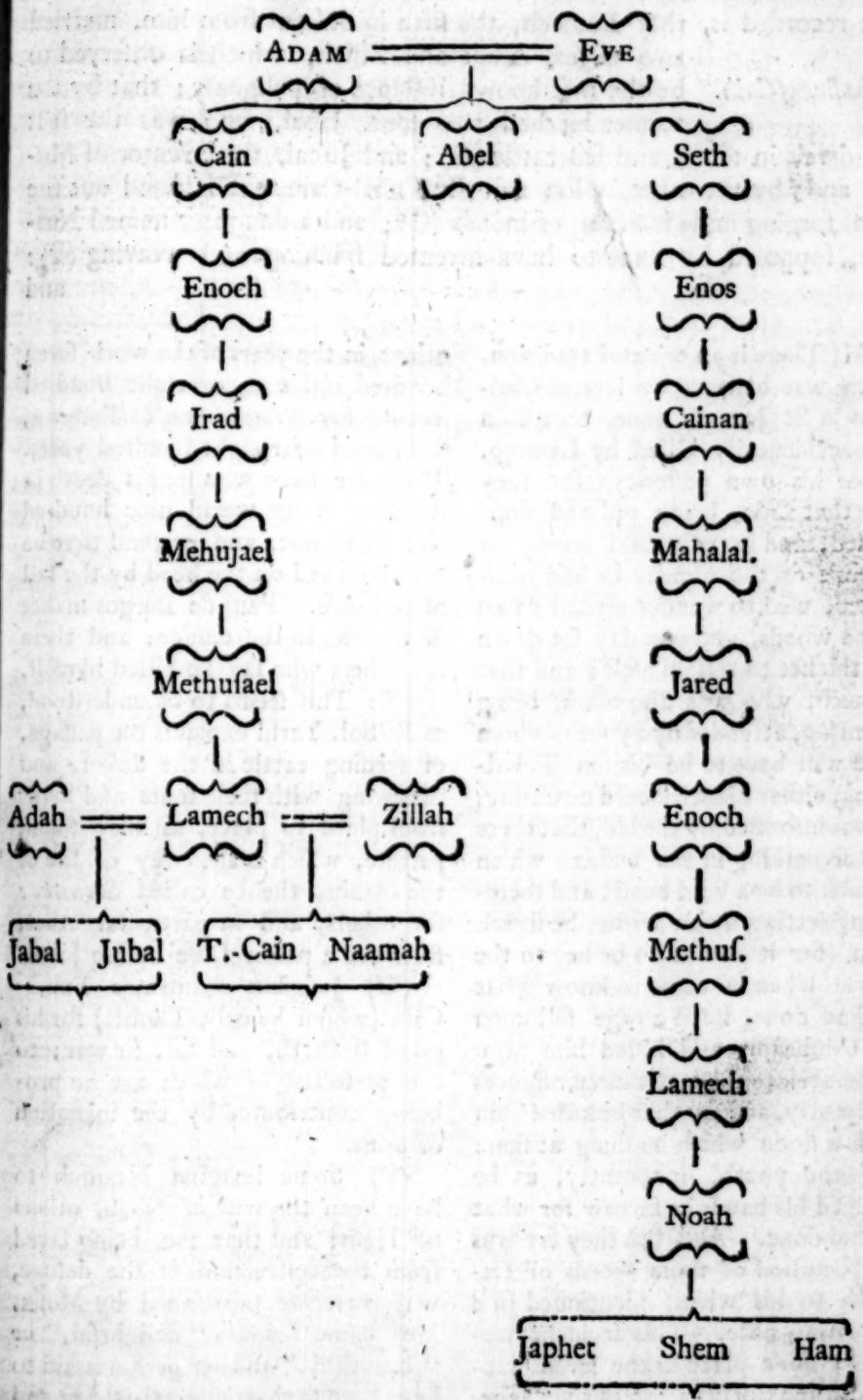
ſenſe of goodneſs, indulging himſelf in all manner of pleaſures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them; that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their inſtructor in evil courſes; that he firſt corrupted that ſimplicity wherein men had till then lived, by the invention of meaſures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of ſuch things, and their greatneſs of mind, into fraud and cunning; and that he alſo firſt ſet bounds to fields and poſſeſſions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependents to live in a community, the better, it is probable, to ſecure their ill-gotten wealth.

Seth born. Soon after the murder of Abel, and probably the next year, his loſs was made up to his parents in another ſon they had, whom Eve named Seth, that is, "appointed," becauſe he was appointed inſtead of Abel, whom Cain ſlew.

As the whole progeny of Adam, of whom we have any mention in Scripture, were the deſcendants of Cain and Seth, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians.

GE-

GENEALOGICAL TABLE *of the* Antediluvians.



The sacred historian, confining himself chiefly to the line of Seth, from whence Noah was descended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of Cain; nor can we thus form any conjectures how long he (M) or any of his descendants lived. All that we have recorded is, that Lamech, the fifth in descent from him, married two wives, Adah and Zillah, which is observed to be the first known instance of poligamy; that by the former he had two sons, Jabal, who was the first that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle (N); and Jubal, the inventor of Music; and, by the other, a son named Tubal-Cain, who found out the art of forging and working of metals (O); and a daughter named Naamah, supposed by some to have invented spinning and weaving (P): and

Of the line of Cain.

(M) There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by several Christians in St Jerom's time, that Cain was accidentally killed by Lamech, one of his own posterity: for they say, that Cain, being old and dim-sighted, and in continual terror on account of the murder he had committed, used to wander up and down in the woods, and one day sat down in a thicket to rest himself; and that Lamech, who was also blind, being a hunting, attended by a youth (whom some will have to be his son Tubal-Cain), either himself heard a rustling, or was informed by the lad, that there was something in the bushes, which he took to be a wild beast; and thereupon, letting fly an arrow, he struck Cain (for it proved to be he) to the heart: when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor, and killed him also. Others relate the latter circumstances differently, and say that he killed Cain with a stone which he flung at him; and the youth, ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in sorrow for what he had done. And this they say was the occasion of those words of Lamech to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident happened some place in the seven hundredth and thirtieth year of Cain's age; others, in the years of the world seven hundred and one, or eight hundred seventy-five. According to Tostatus, Cain lived near eight hundred years. There are some who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty one, and pretend that he was knocked on the head by the fall of an house. Paul de Burgos makes him perish in the deluge; and there are others who say he killed himself.

(N) This seems to be understood, as R. Sol. Yarhi explains the passage, of feeding cattle in the desert, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found pasture, which is the way of life of the Arabs, thence called *Scenitae*: for others, and in particular Abel, followed a pastoral life before Jabal.

(O) Josephus commends Tubal-Cain (whom he calls Thobel) for his great strength, and skill in war; to the perfecting of which art he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

(P) Some imagine Naamah to have been the wife of Noah, others of Ham; and that she, being saved from the destruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by Moses. Her name signifies "delightful," or "beautiful;" and her person is said to have been so charming, that Aza and Azael,

and that, on some occasion or other, Lamech made a speech to his wives, the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters (Q).

However, we are assured by other historians, and it is highly probable, that the posterity of Cain were enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villainies; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by Moses under the designation of "men," and the "daughters of men," as the other family of Seth is by that of the "sons of God."

Enos born. Seth had this year a son named Enos; about which time it is thought that his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of Cain were for the reverse, had the appellation we have just mentioned given them. For it is conceived, that those words, which in our translation are rendered, "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord," properly signify, "Then men began to be called by," or "after the name of "the Lord," that is, "the sons of God." But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean, that then the public worship of God was first set up; and proper ceremonies, and stated times, appointed for that service: and others, particularly the Jews, suppose they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time,

Azael, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her daemons, called Gedim.

Many authors, from some affinity in the names and inventions of these children of Lamech, have thought Jubal to have been the Apollo, Tubal-Cain the Vulcan, and Naamah the Venus or Minerva of the heathens. And, not to omit Jabal, it has been imagined he was their Pales. But these are at best suppositions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be shewn in a more proper place.

Josephus makes the whole number of Lamech's issue by his two wives to be seventy-seven.

(Q) His words, according to our translation, are, "Hear my voice, "ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto "my speech: for I have slain a man "to my wounding, and a young man "to my hurt. If Cain shall be a-"venged seven-fold, truly Lamech "seventy and seven-fold." Almost to the same purpose are the Septuagint, Vulgate and Syriac versions; and they are commonly explained by the above-mentioned tradition of Lamech's unfortunately killing Cain, and the youth that attended him; which being an undesigned act, he had reason to think he deserved much less punishment than Cain. Others take these words to be a thrasonical menace of Lamech (whom they suppose to be a vindictive impious person), spoken on occasion of some quarrel he had with his wives; and that the sense is, "I will" or "would kill a "man if he wounded me, and a "young man if he hurt me," *&c.*

The targums of Onkelos, and Jonathan ben Uziel, and the Arabic translation, read the passage interrogatively, or negatively, "Have I "slain a man?" that is, "I have not "slain a man, that I should bear the "guilt,

time, either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus, "Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the Lord (R)."

Of the three next descendants of Seth, Cainan, Mahalaleel and Jared, and of Methuselah and Lamech, the grandfather and father of Noah, Moses has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do Seth and Enos, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children all intercourse with the race of cursed Cain.

Enoch translated.

Enoch, the son of Jared, and father of Methuselah, was a person of most extraordinary piety, "walking with "God," as the Scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by God into heaven, without tasting death (S).

That

"guilt, or be punished for it; nor "have I killed a young man, that "my seed should be destroyed for it." And it is thought Lamech spoke them on occasion of some terror or apprehension his family was in, lest Abel's murder should be revenged on them; which fear he shews to be groundless, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment. This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on; the speech being introduced by Moses very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes or follows it.

(R) The interpretation of Onkelos, is, "Then men left off calling "upon the name of the Lord;" as if the worship of God began then to be neglected.

Some of the Jews (particularly Maimonides) have gone so far as to charge Enos himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to God.

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels is, by the Sabians, the professors of it, referred to Seth himself. They give him also a son called Sabi, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from צבא *saba*, or "the "host of heaven," the objects of their worship: of this sect we shall take occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, observing only in this place, that they call the book, which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, *the book of Seth*; and reckon the patriarch Enoch also among the propagators of Sabiism.

(S) Moses expresses it thus; "And "Enoch walked with God, and he "was not: for God took him." Which passage the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews paraphrases in this manner; "By faith Enoch was "translated, that he should not see "death; and was not found, because "God had translated him; for before "his translation he had this testi-"mony, that he pleased God." By which words it seems plain, that Enoch did not die, but suffered only such a change as was necessary to fit him for the place whither he was going. Yet several of the Jews believe he actually died.

The Jewish commentators suppose Enoch was carried into the terrestrial paradise. Of the same opinion were some of the Christian fathers. And it

That Enoch was a prophet, and that some prophecy of his was preserved, either in writing, or (as is most probable) by tradition, even to our Saviour's time, appears from the passage quoted thence by St Jude. However, the piece under the title of *The Scripture or prophecy of Enoch*, of

it has been imagined, that both he and Elias will return from thence at the coming of Antichrist, with whom they are to wage war. But these notions are justly rejected by the most judicious interpreters. The Vulgate translation of an apocryphal book says, indeed, that Enoch was translated into paradise: *Henoch placuit Deo, et translatus fuit in paradisum, ut det gentibus poenitentiam*; but it has been observed, that the Greek says only, that he was translated, without making any mention of paradise.

The Koran mentions the assumption of Enoch, who is there called Edris, which name is derived from דרש, in Hebrew, "to inquire into;" and in Arabic, "to read, or study "with attention;" and was given him for his supposed eminent learning, and great knowledge. The Mohammedan commentators say, that Edris is now alive in one of the seven heavens, being carried thither after he had tasted death; but that God restored him to life.

The learning of Enoch, and particularly his skill in the mathematical sciences, has been celebrated by Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.

The Jews say, he first invented letters, and became acquainted with the signs of heaven. They call him Metatron, though some take this to be a name of the angel Gabriel, which the targum of Jonathan seems to interpret by the following words, "the "great scribe:" But Buxtorf is rather enclined to think it signifies "ambassador," or messenger of God; and is the same with the Latin word *metator*.

The Greek Christians suppose Enoch to be the same with the first Egyptian Hermes, who dwelt at Sais; that he first discoursed of superior substances, and foretold the deluge; and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences, fearing lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction. Eupolemus also attributes the invention of astronomy to Enoch, and says he was the same with Atlas, to whom the Greeks ascribe the same thing. Origen mentions a book attributed to Enoch, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the Ethiopians, in their tongue. The learned Mr du Peiresc used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose.

The Mohammedan authors say, that Edris received thirty books of revelation from God, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade), arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us, he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of God: for, being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of Cain, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that Enoch was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends missing him after his assumption,

of which we have some fragrants extant (T), is allowed to be a manifest forgery; though several of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deserves. Many passages are quoted thence in that very antient writing, the testament of the twelve patriarchs; and it is also cited by Clemens Alexandrinus. St Austin makes mention of the Scripture of Enoch, but denies it to be genuine. And, when Celsus objected its authority to Origen, he replied, that the books attributed to Enoch were not looked upon by the church as divine writings. That there was a book, under the name of Enoch, in the hands of the Jews, appears from its being referred to in their antient book Zohar.

Adam dies. Adam, having seen a numerous posterity issued from his own loins (U), after a life of nine hundred and thirty years (W), paid that natural debt to which he had, by his disobedience, subjected himself and them. That he repented of his sin, and made his peace with God, is very reasonable to believe (X), notwithstanding

sumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration.

Father Bartolocci has endeavoured to shew, from the testimony of the more antient Jews, that Enoch, sirnamed Edris, was a different person from the antediluvian Enoch; and that he lived many ages after him.

(T) These fragments were first published by Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Greek *chronicon* of Eusebius; and afterwards more correctly, by J. Goar, in his edition of the chronography of George Scyncellus. We shall give the reader the substance of them by and by.

(U) Besides Adam's three sons named by Moses, and the supposed twin-sisters of Cain and Abel, we are told he had two daughters, one named Asuam, or Saue, who married Cain, and the other Azura, who was the wife of Seth.

(W) The oriental authors are so exact, as to fix the very day and hour of the death of Adam, and also of several of the other patriarchs. But we presume our omitting those niceties will not be judged a fault.

(X) The Jews say, both Adam and Eve were very penitent: and that he, in particular, was so exceedingly afflicted for his sin, that he had died of grief, had not God sent the angel Raziel to comfort him. They even acknowledge him to have been favoured with the gift of prophecy; and that he foretold the flood. The Mohammedans also do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the six (the others being Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed) who introduced a new dispensation; and say, that God gave him ten books of revelation, containing laws, promises, threatenings, and prophecies; which notion, perhaps, they borrowed of the Jewish authors, who pretend that Adam wrote the book entituled *Sepher Jesira*, or "the book of the creation," (which others attribute to Abraham), and certain treatises of the Deity. Some Rabbins make him to have been the author of the ninety-second psalm; and in some manuscripts the Chaldee title of that psalm imports it to be the hymn which the first man sang on the sabbath-day. Eusebius Nieremberg has been credulous enough to

give

withſtanding the uncharitable opinions of ſome to the contrary (Y).

Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.

Where he was buried, cannot be collected from Scripture. St Jerom ſeems to approve of the opinion of thoſe who imagine he was buried at Hebron (Z), in the cave of Machpela, or the "double cave," which Abraham, many ages after, bought for a burying place for himſelf and family. The oriental Chriſtians ſay, that when Adam ſaw death approaching, he called Seth, Enos, Canaan, and Mahalaleel, to him; and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincenſe, and caſſia, and depoſit it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had choſen for the repoſitory of his remains, thence named *the cave of al Konuz* (A). The primitive fathers generally believe, that he died in the place where Jeruſalem was afterwards built; and that he was interred on mount Calvary, in the very ſpot whereon Chriſt was crucified

give us two hymns, faithfully copied from the revelation of Amadeus in the library of the Eſcurial, as the genuine compoſitions of Adam; one being that which he repeated on his firſt interview with Eve, and the other the penitential pſalm ſung by them after the fall.

(Y) A certain heretical ſect, named Tatianites, affirmed, he was damned.

(Z) This is offered to be proved by this paſſage of Scripture, according to the Vulgate tranſlation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariatharbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim ſitus eſt.* But the name Adam is unwarrantably inſerted in the text, the Hebrew plainly ſignifying (as the other verſions render it), that Hebron was formerly called Kerjath Arba, or "the city of Arba," who had been a great man among the Anakims. There is, however, another origin of that antient name Hebron given by ſome writers, who, taking the word Arba, which alſo ſignifies "four," in that ſenſe, and not for a proper name, ſay, that city was ſo called, becauſe four couple were there buried, *viz.* Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Iſaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah.

(A) From the Arabic *kanaza*, "to lay up privately," as treaſure, *&c.* Some Jews ſay, that this precaution was ordered by Adam to be taken, leſt his poſterity ſhould make his reliques an object of idolatry.

The eaſtern Chriſtians add, that he farther directed his family, that, when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of paradiſe, they ſhould take his body with them, and place it in the midſt of the earth; becauſe thence ſhould come his ſalvation, and that of all his poſterity. Which order, it is ſaid, was repeated by Lamech to his ſon Noah, with this addition, that he ſhould take, with the body, gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, as offerings; and appoint one of his ſons to attend his corpſe to and at the new ſepulchre, who was to be a religious perſon, and unmarried; was to ſhed no blood, nor offer any ſacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be cloathed in ſkins, and ſhould neither cut his hair, nor pare his nails, and was to be called the prieſt of God: meaning thereby Melchizedek. And this, Noah and Melchizedek are ſaid to have performed.

crucified (B); which opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flouriſhes and alluſions. The Mohammedans will have Adam's ſepulchre to have been on the mountain Abu-kabis, near Meeca: and the antient Perſians, in Serendib or Ceylon, where it was for ſome time, as they pretend, guarded by lions.

The time of the death of Eve, the mother of all living (C), is not intimated in Scripture; but there are ſome who venture to tell us, that ſhe out-lived her huſband ten years.

After the death of Adam, the eaſtern writers ſay, that Seth, with his family, ſeparated themſelves from the profligate race of Cain, and removed to the mountain where Adam was buried, which they choſe for their habitation; Cain and his family remaining below, in the valley where Abel was ſlain. But how this near neighbourhood is conſiſtent with Scripture, which plainly intimates Cain's baniſhment into a country at ſome conſiderable diſtance from the reſidence of Adam, and his poſterity by Seth, we cannot conceive: unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that Cain, or his deſcendants, left their own ſettlements to diſpoſſeſs Seth and his offſpring; or elſe, that the poſterity of both were, by this time, ſo greatly encreaſed, that, after gradually extending their borders on both ſides, they at length met, and ſtreightened each other. However this be, the eaſtern tradition is, that the progeny of Seth lived in the ſaid mountain in great ſanctity and purity of manners (D). Their conſtant employment

(B) This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we ſuppoſe the body was removed to Golgotha after the flood, in purſuance of the above-mentioned orders. Jacobus Edeſſenus ſays, that Noah carried the bones of Adam with him into the ark; and, when he came out of it, he divided them among his ſons, giving the ſkull to Shem, who, coming into Judaea, repoſited it in the ſepulchre of Adam on mount Calvary.

A commentator has an odd ſtory, which is abſurdly enough fathered on ſome Jews, that Seth, at the command of an angel, put into Adam's mouth, when he was interred, a ſeed of the tree of knowledge, which afterwards grew to be a tree; and that Chriſt's croſs was made of it.

To accompany this ſtory, we ſhall add two more of the ſame ſtamp, though not ſo properly belonging to this place. One is, that Eve broke a branch from the tree of knowledge, of which ſhe made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her huſband to eat of the forbidden fruit: the other, that Seth planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to Adam by an angel, or begged by Seth at the gate of paradiſe; and that the ſame becoming a tree, Moſes afterwards, from that tree took his rod, with which he performed ſo many miracles; the bough, with which he made ſweet the bitter waters of Marah; and the pole, whereon he fixed the brazen ſerpent.

(C) From whence ſhe had her name, which is properly written Hawwah, and derived from the root חוה *haya*, "to live.

(D) Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradiſe was ſo little higher than the mountain, that the children of Seth could hear the

ployment was, praiſing God, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountains; ſo that they had no occaſion to undergo any ſervile labours, nor the trouble of ſowing, or getting in harveſt: they were utter ſtrangers to envy, injuſtice, or deceit. Their only oath was by "the blood of "Abel;" and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worſhip God, and to viſit the body of Adam, as a means of procuring the divine bleſſing.

However, what time they had to ſpare, in theſe happy circumſtances, they ſeem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in ſublime ſpeculations; while the children of Cain, ſeeking no farther than preſent convenience and pleaſure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and muſical inſtruments. For it is ſaid, that the offſpring of Seth, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the ſcience of aſtronomy; and, leſt their inventions ſhould be forgotten or loſt, before they were publicly known, underſtanding, from a prediction of Adam's, that there would be a general deſtruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, and engraved their inventions on each of them, that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of ſtone might remain; which, Joſephus tells us, was to be ſeen, in his time, in the land of Siriad (E).

How

the voices of the angels celebrating the praiſes of God, and even join with them in that ſervice.

(E) Where this land of Siriad was, is a great diſpute. The name is variouſly written in the manuſcripts, κατὰ γὴν τὴν Σιριάδα, and Συριάδα; by others Σίριδα, and by Euſtathius Σῖριτα; which laſt ſeems the more correct. Some place it in Syria; others, with a little more probability, have taken it to b the ſame with Seirath mentioned in Scripture, and ſuppoſe the פְּסִילִים *peſilim*, which the Engliſh tranſlation renders the "quarries," near Gilgal, in the tribe of Ephraim, were the ruins of Seth's ſtone pillar. Yet others underſtand thoſe *peſilim*, or τὰ γλυπτὰ, "the "ſculptures," as the Septuagint tranſlate the word, to have been certain idols, lately ſet up there by Eglon.

But the more certain opinion is, that the Siriadic land was in Egypt: for we are told, that Manetho extracted his hiſtory from certain pillars there, whereon inſcriptions had been made by Thoth, or the firſt Mercury, in the ſacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, traſlated from the ſacred dialect into the Greek tongue, but written in the ſacred letters, and laid up in books by the ſecond Mercury, in the ſacred receſſes of the Egyptian temples. Theſe pillars were in ſubterraneous caverns near Thebes, and beyond the Nile, not far from the ſounding ſtatue of Memnon, in a place called Syringes, which are deſcribed to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is ſaid) thoſe who were ſkilled in antient rites, foreſeeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing leſt the memory of their ceremonies ſhould be obliterated, built and contrived in

How long the descendants of Seth continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. Moses says, "That when men began to multiply on the face of "the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the "sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they "were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." By which it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was, their marrying into the wicked family of Cain; by which means their manners were soon debauched, and, at length, degenerated so far, that "the "wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination "of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." Josephus writes, that the family of Seth persevered in the true worship of God, and in the pursuit of virtue, for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue: by which means they drew down on themselves the indignation of God.

The defection of the sons of Seth.

The oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of Jared, and in his fortieth year; when they say, one hundred of the sons of Seth, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the Cainites, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain; and, on their arrival among them, were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them. And so these sons of Seth perished, by whoring with the daughters of Cain: for, when they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain (it is said) became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther. The lubricity of the Cainites is described in very strong terms. The men neighed after the women like horses, and the women in the same manner after the men, committing whoredom, and all manner of filthiness promiscuously with one another in public; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers; so that the children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents their children.

The opinion of those who suppose angels defiled themselves with women.

The appellation of the sons of God, given by Moses to the children of Seth, led Josephus, Philo Judaeus, and several of the fathers, into a strange interpretation of this passage; as if the angels, who are also called in Scripture the sons of God, were thereby asserted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten

vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters. And that Seth was not a name unknown to the Egyptians, appears from Plutarch, who tells us, that they constantly called Typhon, which was a Greek name, Seth; and hence, it is probable, Josephus was led into a mistake of ascribing these pillars to the son of Adam.

begotten on them the insolent and impious race we shall mention immediately (F). This supposition, we think, needs no refutation; being utterly

When men were greatly encreased, they had daughters of such excellent beauty, that the *egregori*, or watching angels, fell in love with them, and proposed to one another, that they should go down, and chuse themselves wives of the daughters of men; to which Semiazas, their prince, replying, that he was apprehensive they would not go through with the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they all swore, and bound themselves under imprecations, that they would not recede from their resolution. The number of these *egregori* was two hundred, who, in the days of Jared, descended on the top of mount Hermon, which was so called from the oath they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whose names (if the readers have any curiosity to know them) follow:

Semiazas, their chief,	Pharmarus,
Atarcuph,	Amariel,
Araciel,	Anagemus,
Chobabiel,	Thausael,
Orammame,	Samiel,
Ramiel,	Sarinas,
Sampsich,	Eumiel,
Zaciel,	Tyriel,
Balciel,	Jumiel,
Azalzel,	Sariel.

These, and the rest of them, in the year of the world one thousand one hundred and seventy, took themselves wives, and began to commit lewdness with them, which they continued to do till the flood; and the women bore to them three generations. The first generation were the giants, the giants begat the *nephilim*, and the *nephilim* those named *eliud*; and they were multiplied

(F) This opinion seems to have been originally occasioned by some copies of the Septuagint, which, in the days of St Austin, had in this place "the angels of God." Lactantius supposes the angels, who were guilty of this enormity, had been sent down by God to guard and take care of mankind; and, being endued with free-will, were charged by him not to forfeit the dignity of their celestial nature, by defiling themselves with the corruptions of the earth; but that the devil, at length, enticed them to debauch themselves with women. He adds, that being not admitted into heaven, by reason of the wickedness into which they had plunged themselves, they fell down to the earth, and became the devil's ministers: but that those who were begotten by them, being neither angels nor men, but of a middle nature, were not received into hell, no more than their parents were into heaven. Hence arose two kinds of daemons, celestial and terrestrial. These are unclean spirits, the authors of whatever evils are committed, and whose prince is the devil. From hence, very probably, proceeded the notions of *incubi*, or daemons, who are supposed to have carnal knowledge of women.

But the fancy of angels defiling themselves with women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery we have mentioned above, intituled *the prophecy of Enoch*. The fragments we have still extant of which, give a more particular history of these imaginary transactions. Wherefore we shall here insert an extract of those fragments, though some particulars might, perhaps, be more properly reserved for another place.

utterly repugnant to the notions we have of the nature of thoſe ſpiritual beings, who are neither married, nor given in marriage; though it be hard to accuſe, as ſome have done, thoſe who have fallen into this miſtake, of hereſy and blaſphemy. Others, indeed, and particularly ſeveral of the Jewiſh writers, by the ſons of God, underſtand the fallen angels

multiplied according to their ſtature, and taught themſelves, and their wives, magic and enchantments. The tenth of their princes, named Azalzel, taught them to make ſwords, breaſt-plates, and inſtruments of war; as alſo, the working of metals, particularly gold and ſilver, and faſhioning various ornaments for the women: he alſo inſtructed them in the preparing of coſmetics, the poliſhing of precious ſtones, and the art of dying. Theſe things the ſons of men provided for themſelves and their daughters, and they tranſgreſſed; and alſo ſeduced thoſe that were virtuous among them, and wickedneſs prevailed greatly on the earth. Semiazas, the chief of theſe angels, taught the force of poiſonous roots and herbs; Pharmarus the eleventh, charms and incantations; the ninth, aſtroſcopy; the fourth, aſtrology; the eight, aeroſcopy; the third, the ſigns of the earth; the ſeventh, thoſe of the ſun; the twentieth, thoſe of the moon; and, in like manner, each of them revealed certain ſecrets to their wives and children. Afterwards, the giants began to devour human fleſh; by which means, the number of men daily decreaſing, thoſe that remained cried to heaven againſt their cruelty, and beſought God to remember them. This the four archangels hearing, looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great deal of blood ſhed thereon, and that all manner of impiety and diſorder was committed, made their report thereof to God, and, at his command, bound the princes of thoſe tranſgreſſors, and threw them into the abyſs, there to be kept to the day of judgment. Uriel, in particular, was ſent to Noah, the ſon of Lamech, to acquaint him, that the whole earth was to be deſtroyed by a deluge, and inſtruct him by what means to eſcape it. Raphael was ordered to bind Azazel [Azalzel] hand and foot, and to throw him into darkneſs, in the deſert of Dudael, and to lay him upon ſharp ſtones, and cover him with darkneſs, that he might dwell therein for ever, being deſtined to the puniſhment of fire on the day of judgment. The words which follow, directing him to heal the earth of the wounds cauſed therein by the ſecrets revealed by the *egregori*, are ſomething dark, and deſerve not the trouble of an explication. Gabriel's charge was, to deſtroy the giants, the ſons of the *egregori*, by exciting them to mutual and inteſtine wars, that they might fall by each others hands; and Michael was commanded to bind Semiazas, and the reſt of his companions, and to lead them, after they had ſeen the ſlaughter of their beloved ſons, to the utmoſt parts of the earth, where they were to be confined for ſeventy generations, till the conſummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulf of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of ſpirit and fleſh, were condemned to become evil ſpirits, doing miſchief upon the earth, appearing as ſpectres, and taking no food; but were to riſe with mankind at the general reſurrection. Therefore, from the day of the ſlaughter of the giants, the

gels (G), who, ſeeing the daughters of Cain walking in the nakedneſs of the fleſh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them.

While we are on this head, it may not be amiſs to mention another opinion, more reaſonable than the laſt, which is embraced by the Jewiſh interpreters: they ſuppoſe, that, by the ſons of God, in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magiſtrates in thoſe times, who, inſtead of uſing their authority to puniſh and diſcountenance vice, were themſelves the greateſt examples and promoters of lewdneſs and debauchery;

the *nephilim*, the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the ſpirits which went forth from their ſouls, as from fleſh, were to continue their miſchievous employments till the laſt day. It was alſo decreed, that mount Hermon, where thoſe angels mutually bound themſelves by an oath, ſhould never be without ſnow and cold till the day of judgment, when it ſhould melt like wax. Mankind are alſo threatened with a general deſtruction, and that their life ſhould be but one hundred and twenty years.

This is the ſubſtance of thoſe fragments, many parts of which are ſo greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make ſenſe of them; but the beſt is, the loſs is not great.

(G) Two of them were Aza and Azael, mentioned before. Shamhozai (whoſe name comes very near that of Semiazas) was another; he was the companion of Azael, and begat on ſome woman Hiyah and Hhiyah, who begat Sihon and Og. Shamhozai is ſaid to have repented of his crime; and, in penance for the ſame, to have hung himſelf up between heaven and earth, in which poſture he ſtill remains; but Azael, continuing impenitent, preſides over the womens toilets, and is the ſame with the goat Azazel, mentioned by Moſes. A fourth of theſe debauched angels, named Mahzael, is ſaid to have lain with Ham's wife, about the time of the flood; and Sihon, it is pretended, was the iſſue of that adultery.

Theſe antient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to Mohammed. The Koran mentions two, named Harut and Marut, who taught magic at Babel. Theſe, the commentators ſay, were ſent down to be judges on earth; which office they executed with integrity for ſome time, till Zohara, or the ſtar Venus, deſcended, and appeared before them in the ſhape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint againſt her huſband (though others ſay, ſhe was really a woman). As ſoon as they ſaw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires; but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted. On the interceſſion of a certain man, they were allowed to chuſe whether they would be puniſhed in this life, or in the other; whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment accordingly, in Babel. This ſtory was taken directly from the Perſians, who make mention of two rebellious angels of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of Babel.

ery; taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaneſt ſort of people, and debauching them by force (H).

The iſſue of the Sethites, and the daughters of Cain, and their impiety.

The example of theſe ſons of Seth, who, tempted by the allurements of the daughters of Cain, firſt left their ſeat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time deſcended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives, in like manner, of that profligate and abandoned race. From theſe unhappy marriages iſſued a generation, who ſeem to have been no leſs extraordinary for their great ſtature and ſtrength, than for their monſtrous impiety and injuſtice. "There were in thoſe day giants (I) in the earth," who being, moſt

(H) To ſupport this interpretation, they tell us, that the verb לָקַח, which is generally rendered *to take*, ſignifies alſo, *to raviſh*, or *take by violence*.

(I) The Hebrew word is נְפִילִים *nephilim*, from נָפַל *naphal*, *to fall*; which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate ſpirits, or the fallen angels, under the ſhape of men. The targum of Ben Uzziel agrees with this interpretation, and names two of thoſe angels, then converſant on earth, *viz.* Shamhazai and Uzziel. But the root ſignifies, alſo, *to fall upon, to ruſh with violence*, &c. According to which ſenſe, Symmachus tranſlates *niphilim* βιαίους, and Aquila ἐπιπίπτοντας. The other tranſlations generally render it *giants*.

Some take theſe *nephilim* to have been men of ordinary ſtature, and ſo called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciouſneſs, and inſolence; which, as it ſeems, was the opinion of Joſephus. But others, with greater reaſon, believe, they were alſo of extraordinary ſtature and ſtrength; the word *nephilim* being manifeſtly uſed elſewhere in Scripture to denote men above the common ſize. Not but that it may alſo ſignify thoſe that *fall away*, *apoſtates*.

That there were, in theſe antient times, men of a gigantic ſize and ſtrength, is a thing very credible, both from later inſtances in hiſtorians ſacred and profane, and modern inſtances in our own times. But we muſt not hence conclude, as ſome have done, that mankind in general were, in the firſt ages, of a much larger ſtature than they are at preſent; giants being manifeſtly ſpoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number ſeems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of J. Bolduc, the capuchin, is too ſingular to be omitted. He ſuppoſes, that the different words by which giants ſeem to be intended in Scripture, as *nephilim*, *rephaim*, *zuzim*, *gihborim*, *anakim*, *zamzummim*, *elim*, &c. do not, for the moſt part, denote the uncommon ſize, but the ſtrength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the firſt propagators of mankind, and divine worſhip. The *nephilim*, in particular, he imagines to be thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed from others, in that they worſhipped God by *falling down*, or proſtration; in the ſame manner as the fathers of the order of St Francis of Aſſiſi are remarkable for adoring in the ſame poſture, and kiſſing the earth before the hoſt.

Some

moſt probably of Cain's race, both by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families (K), made uſe of their ſuperior power to ſpoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the ſame courſe of life was followed by the mongrel off-ſpring, who ſignalized themſelves alſo by robberies and oppreſſions, and "became mighty men, which were "of old men of renown."

Mankind running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the poſterity of Seth, who had, for ſome ages, retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of Cain, infected with the ſame contagion of profaneneſs and immorality, ſo that all ſorts of wickedneſs began to overſpread the earth; and this notwithſtanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by perſons from time to time ſent by God; the divine vengeance might with juſtice have been immediately executed on ſo perverſe a generation: but God, out of his great mercy, was pleaſed to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no leſs than one hundred and twenty years; during which ſpace, but no longer, his Spirit ſhould "ſtrive with man," or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked courſe of life (L).

The 120 years of God's forbearance.

Amidſt

Some authors have enquired into the original cauſe of this monſtrous ſtature of the giants. St Cyril thinks it a judgment of God on the luſt of their parents. They who ſuppoſe them to be the iſſue of the fallen ſpirits ſay, it was by their artful promoting and raiſing the leachery and pleaſure of the women with whom they had to do. Some attribute it to the vigour of the ſons of Seth; while others make Seth's deſcendants in general to have been of a very large ſize, and thoſe of Cain, on the contrary, of a leſs.

(K) This the words of Moſes ſeem to imply; "There were giants" (ſays he) "in the earth in thoſe days; and "alſo after that, when the ſons of "God came in unto the daughters of "men, and they bare children to "them, *&c.*" So that there appear to have been two diſtinct races of *nephilim*; one of which aroſe pretty early in the world, being of the poſterity of Cain; and another, which began ſome ages after, being the iſſue of the ſons of Seth by the daughters of Cain; and both of them probably continued to the flood.

(L) This paſſage of Scripture is variouſly interpreted: the Engliſh tranſlation ſeems to give the true ſenſe of the Hebrew; but the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac verſions, render the word יָדִין (which we tranſlate *ſtrive with*), *continue* or *dwell in*; ſuppoſing the meaning to be, either that God's Spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or elſe, that the ſpirit, or breath of life, ſhould not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he ſhould be deſtroyed. And this is the ſenſe of Onkelos. The Jews have much uſeleſs learning in their comments on this text. But they who infer from hence, that the ſtandard of man's life was now reduced and limited to one hundred and twenty years, are manifeſtly miſtaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after

Amidſt this general corruption, one man, however, was found to be juſt and perfect in his generation (M), walking with God. This extraordinary perſon was Noah (N), the ſon of Lamech, who, not thinking it ſufficient to be righteous himſelf, unleſs he did his utmoſt to turn others likewiſe to righteouſneſs by admonition, as well as example, became a preacher to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counſel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to reſtore the true religion among them (O). But all he could do was to no purpoſe, for they continued incorrigibly obſtinate: ſo that, at length, (as Joſephus tells us), finding himſelf and family in eminent danger of ſome violence in return for his good-will, he departed from among them, with his wife and children.

Noah preaches.

On

after the flood, nor till the days of Moſes. And St Peter plainly approves the other ſenſe, when he obſerves, that "the long-ſuffering of "God waited in the days of Noah, "while the ark was preparing:" yet this notion ſpread even among the Heathen writers.

(M) From this expreſſion ſome Jews would infer, that Noah was a good man comparatively ſpeaking only, in reſpect of the great wickedneſs of the reſt of the world; but that, had he lived in Abraham's time, he would have had but a ſmall ſhare of reputation for virtue. But this unjuſt ſurmiſe, had it any foundation in the words of Moſes, is refuted by the teſtimony of Ezekiel, who names him as one of the three that had been moſt eminent for righteouſneſs, and ſhould ſave their lives by their own merits, in the moſt univerſal calamities. It is true, they give another reaſon for their opinion, *viz.* becauſe Noah did not intercede for the old world, as Abraham did for Sodom.

(N) Lamech gave his ſon this name, which ſignifies *comfort:* for "this "ſame," ſays he, "ſhall comfort us "concerning our work, and toil of "our hands, becauſe of the ground "which the Lord hath curſed." Which words not expreſſing the means by which Noah was thus to comfort his friends, ſome writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and inſtruments of huſbandry.

(O) The eaſtern Chriſtians ſay, that when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he alſo directed him to make an inſtrument of wood, ſuch as they make uſe of in the Eaſt, at this day, inſtead of bells to call the people to church, and named, in Arabic, *nakus*, which he was to ſtrike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admoniſhing his people of the impending danger of the deluge.

The Mohammedans likewiſe agree to make Noah a prophet, and, as has been obſerved, one of the ſix principal ones, though he had no written revelations delivered to him. The *koran* mentions his preaching to thoſe of his time in ſeveral places. Some of their writers pretend, he was ſent to convert Zohak, one of the Perſian kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him. He then went to preach God's unity publicly, but could make no more proſelytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark.

On his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater disorders than before; having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. Moses assures us, that "the wickedness of man was great in the "earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts "of his heart was continually evil; and that the earth was corrupt and "filled with violence, all flesh (P) having corrupted his way upon the "earth." Which words leave no room to enquire into the particular crimes of the antediluvian world, which seems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedness, and above all with violence and injustice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practised before the flood, is a question we shall discuss elsewhere; but the Eastern authors are for the affirmative, and say the children of Seth were seduced to it by the Cainites.

Mankind incorrigible.

Things being in this state, God, as the sacred historian pathetically expresses it, "repented that he had made man upon "earth, and it grieved him at his heart." And the time of forbearance being elapsed, he passed the sentence of their utter destruction by a flood of waters; and not only of them, but of the beasts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air, which became involved in the calamity of their masters. But Noah "found grace in the eyes of the "Lord," who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and, as a means to preserve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or vessel, of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family, (for he had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, who were all married before the flood), but such numbers of animals of all sorts, which were liable to perish in the flood, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species, and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them. All which Noah performed; and so, by God's peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him escaped this tremendous and otherwise general destruction; which event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, and deserving our greatest attention, must be the subject of our next discourse.

Year of the World 1656. Year before Christ 2348.

The whole world destroyed by a flood, except Noah and his family.

SECT.

(P) The oriental writers agree in making this defection so universal, that at last, they say, there was none left in the holy mountain of all Seth's race, except only Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives.

SECT. V.

Of the DELUGE.

A concise history of the flood.

SIXTEEN hundred and fifty-six years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and destroyed in a deluge of water: not a deluge that was national only, or over-ran some particular region; but overspread the face of the whole earth, from pole to pole, and from east to west; and that in such excess, that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rain descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broken open; so that a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only Noah and his family, who, by a special providence of God, were preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in with him. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink; and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their channels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth, in that form and shape wherein we now see it. Then the world began again; and, from that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from the ruins and remains of it.

This is a short story of the greatest event that ever yet happened in the world; the greatest revolution, and the greatest change in nature: which therefore justly deserves to be more particularly considered in all its circumstances.

Profane testimonies of this catastrophe.

That there was such an universal destruction by water, as is related by Moses, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several of the most ancient writers and nations in the world. Plato says, that a certain Egyptian priest recounted to Solon, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the Grecians. The inhabitants of Heliopolis in Syria shewed a chasm or cleft in the earth, in the temple of Juno, which, as they say, swallowed up the waters of the flood (Q). Nay,

(Q) The author who mentions this says, the Greeks gave an account of the universal deluge [which they and others have confounded with that of Deucalion], too curious to be omitted. The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the present race of men was not the first, for they totally perished; but is of a second generation, which, being descended of Deucalion, encreased

Nay, the very Americans are said to acknowledge and speak of it in their continent: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the Chineſe, that Puonco, with his family, eſcaped out of the general deluge; though another expreſly aſſerts, the Chineſe annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a miſtake in thoſe who imagine they do. However it ſeems their hiſtorians do ſpeak of a flood, which ſome ſuppoſe to be that of Noah, but they do not make it univerſal (R). Moſt nations have ſome

creaſed to a great multitude. Now, of theſe former men they relate this ſtory: They were very inſolent, and addicted to unjuſt actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hoſpitable to ſtrangers, nor gave ear to ſupplicants; for which reaſon this great calamity befel them. On a ſudden the earth poured forth a vaſt quantity of water, great ſhowers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the ſea aroſe to a prodigious height; ſo that all things became water, and all men were deſtroyed: only Deucalion was left unto a ſecond generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was ſaved in this manner: he went into a large ark, or cheſt [λάρνακα], which he had, together with his ſons and their wives; and, when he was in, there entered ſwine, and horſes, and lions, and ſerpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs. He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendſhip among them: ſo they ſailed all in one cheſt while the water prevailed. Theſe things the Greeks relate of Deucalion. But, as to what happened after this, there is an ancient tradition among thoſe of Hierapolis, which deſerves admiration; *viz.* That in their country a great chaſm opened, and received all the water; whereupon Deucalion erected altars, and built the temple of Juno, over the chaſm. This ſame chaſm, ſays our author, I have ſeen, and it is a very ſmall one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and ſince leſſened, I cannot tell; but that which I have ſeen is little. In commemoration of this hiſtory, they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the ſea to the temple, and not by the prieſts only, but all Syria and Arabia; many come from beyond Euphrates to the ſea, and all carry water, which they firſt pour out in the temple, and afterwards it ſinks into the chaſm, which, though it be ſmall, receives abundance of water. And when they do this, they ſay Deucalion inſtituted the ceremony in that temple, as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it.

(R) An Arab, who travelled into China about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a converſation he had with the emperor, among other things, ſays, that, mentioning the flood to that prince, on occaſion of a picture of Noah which he ſhewed him, and telling him, that that prophet, and thoſe who were ſaved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not deceived "as to the name of Noah; but, as "to the univerſal deluge, we know "nothing of it. It is true, that the "deluge did drown a part of the "earth; but it did not reach ſo far "as our country, nor yet to the In-"dies." Ebn Shoknah ranks the Chineſe among thoſe who deny the flood.

ſome tradition of a deluge, which happened in their reſpective countries: but it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that ſeveral of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be diſtinguiſhed from that of Noah; though ancient and modern writers frequently confound them together (S), and relate circumſtances of the one, which belong only to the other.

Whether topical.

Some difficulties which ſeem to attend the Moſaic account of the deluge, ſuch as the finding out waters ſufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all ſorts of animals being preſerved in the ark, have induced ſome, even men of learning, to ſuppoſe, that Noah's flood was not univerſal, but national only, and confined to Judea, and the regions thereabouts (T), or perhaps to that tract of land which lyes between the four ſeas, the Perſian, Caſpian, Euxine, and Mediterranean, or, at moſt, reached no farther than the continent of Aſia. And, to ſupport this preſumption, they alledge, that, ſince the primary deſign of the flood was to deſtroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in ſo ſhort a time to have overſpread the face of the whole earth, there was no neceſſity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited: and though in this caſe all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been deſtroyed; yet it is conceived, that it was neceſſary to ſave ſome in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their uſe preſently after the flood, which could not otherwiſe have been. One author indeed has gone ſo far as to ſuppoſe, that all mankind did not periſh in the deluge; and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar expoſition of the curſes of Cain and Lamech, that the Africans and Indians are of their poſterity. But as he has elſewhere himſelf confuted this opinion by the ſtrongeſt arguments, we ſhall ſay no more of it. And it is eaſy to ſhew, againſt thoſe who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was univerſal in its extent as well as effect. For,

(S) Not only Deucalion's flood in Theſſaly, but thoſe of Ogyges in Attica, and Prometheus in Egypt, have been thought the ſame with that of Noah. Thoſe ſpoken of by the Americans ſeem to have been national; as was that of Aſia Minor, mentioned by Diodorus, from the Samothracian tradition, which yet they pretended was the moſt ancient of all: to omit ſeveral others enumerated by Sir Walter Raleigh, ſome of which he has taken from the ſpurious Xenophon of Annius.

(T) Melo, who wrote a book againſt the Jews, ſpeaking of the deluge, ſeems to make it topical, and not to have reached Armenia. His words are theſe: "At the time of the "deluge, a man who had eſcaped "with his ſons, went from Armenia, "being driven out of his poſſeſſions "by thoſe of the country; and paſſing over the intermediate region, "came into the mountainous part of "Syria, which was then deſolate."

For, 1. The Scriptures put this matter out of doubt, expreſſly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all fleſh died that moved upon the earth, except only Noah, and thoſe that were with him in the ark (U). Nor will the terms of Moſes allow the word *earth*, in this place, to be reſtrained, as it may in ſome others, to Judea (X), or any other particular tract of land: for, unleſs the laws of nature were miraculouſly ſuſpended, before the waters in one region, much more on a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the higheſt mountains, they would certainly diffuſe themſelves, and overflow the reſt of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; Noah and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more eaſe, and in leſs time, than build ſo vaſt a veſſel; the beaſts might have ſaved themſelves by flight; or their loſs, eſpecially thoſe of the unclean kinds, have been repleniſhed from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood was vaſtly ſuperior to what the preſent earth is, perhaps, capable of ſuſtaining, as will appear hereafter: and the waters muſt therefore have overſpread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited: and conſequently the whole globe, that none might eſcape the divine vengeance, muſt have been overflowed.

4. The

(U) The words of Moſes, one would think, are too plain to admit any ſubterfuge. "God looked upon the "earth; and, behold, it was corrupt; "for all fleſh had corrupted his way "upon the earth. And God ſaid unto Noah, The end of all fleſh is "come before me—and I will deſtroy them with the earth. Behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of "waters upon the earth, to deſtroy "all fleſh, wherein is the breath of "life, from under heaven, and every "thing that is in the earth ſhall die.—"Every living ſubſtance that I have "made, will I deſtroy from off the "face of the earth.—And the waters "prevailed exceedingly upon the "earth: and all the high hills, that "were under the whole heaven, were "covered. Fifteen cubits upward did "the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all fleſh "died that moved upon the earth, "both of fowl, and of cattle, and "of beaſt, and of every creeping thing "that creepeth upon the earth, and "every man. All in whoſe noſtrils "was the breath of life, of all that "was in the dry land, died. And "every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed which was upon the face of the "ground, both man, and cattle, and "the creeping things, and the fowl "of the heaven; and they were deſtroyed from the earth: and Noah "only remained alive, and they that "were with him in the ark."

(X) Peyrerius, one part of whoſe pre-adamite ſyſtem is, that the flood extended no farther than Judea, which he ſuppoſes to be all that Moſes meant by the earth, would alſo perſuade us, that that writer, by mankind which were to be deſtroyed, intended the poſterity of Adam; by the living creatures, the Gentiles or pre-adamites, mixed with the race of Adam; and, by the great deep, the ſea of Paleſtine.

4. The earth itself seems to offer us a demonstrative argument of the universality of the deluge, from the vast numbers of the shells and teeth of fish, bones of animals, intire or partial vegetables, and other strange things, which are to be found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great distance from the sea, and were probably left by the flood (Y).

It is now time to consider by what means this terrible devastation was brought on the earth, and in what manner those that escaped it were preserved.

Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.

If the deluge was universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extremely difficult, if not impossible to say, whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water, sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans; but (Dr Keil) a person well able to make the calculation, says, that there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty-two oceans. And where to find this, is the question. There are the clouds above, and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and these are all the stores we have for water (Z): and Moses directs us to no other, for the causes of the

(Y) This argument is offered with some diffidence: for, though the most experienced philosophers now agree, that these shells, *&c.* are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found, by some plastic power of salts, or other minerals (which was the conjecture of Dr Plot, and other naturalists), inasmuch as they are not to be distinguished from real shells, teeth, *&c.* by the nicest examination of the eye, and even the microscope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all tophaceous or stony substances do, but first into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony or fleshy nature; yet they do not agree that these things were brought in by the universal deluge; for this reason, among several others, that living animals, or fish, have been found in some of those fossil shells, and that such marine substances are sometimes formed and generated in human bodies; and therefore it is supposed they were formed by a spermatic principle, as fish spawn, received into the chinks and other *meatus's* of the earth, and falling down in rains, *&c.*; which may be allowed, indeed, of the several kinds of shell-fish, whose shells might preserve them in the earth; but can hardly be admitted as to others of those fossils, such as the *glossopetrae*, or teeth of the shark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the subterraneous woods, and fossil trees, there seems to be no great reason to believe they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever since; it being much more probable, that they either were occasioned by inundations of the sea, or were felled by men in the places where they now ly; as is undeniable of many of them, which still shew the marks of the ax.

(Z) Moses, in his account of the creation, speaking of "waters above "the firmament," though it be generally

the deluge: "The fountains of the great deep," says he, "were broken "up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon "the earth forty days and forty nights." By the *great deep*, some understand the ocean; but others, with more reason, the subterraneous abyss or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth (Z). But it is thought the waters which either the abyss or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiously short of the proportion required. According to the observations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconsiderable part of what was necessary for a deluge. If it rained forty days and forty nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be sufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would signify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; so that it has been said, that, if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not forty days, but forty years, to have brought it to pass. And if we suppose the whole atmosphere condensed into water, it would not at all have been sufficient for this effect; for it is certain, that it could not have risen above thirty-two feet, which is well known to be the usual height to which water can be raised by the pressure of the atmosphere; for the weight of the whole air, when condensed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural state, and must become no less than eight hundred times denser; for that is the difference between the weight of the heaviest air, and that of water. And as to the abyss, if by it we intend the sea, that is no higher than the land, as some have formerly imagined, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and take up the same place: and, if we understand the subterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not ascend otherwise than by force; and, if force were used to

rally understood of the clouds and aqueous vapours sustained in the middle region of the air, yet some have fancied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make use of them for a supply, when they could not find enough under the heavens to make up the mass of the deluge; though if these imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not easy to tell. But, since the system of the world has been better known, and the nature of the heavens, it is presumed there are none that would assert these super-celestial waters, much less make that extravagant use of them, as to bring them down hither for a cause of the deluge.

(Z) Notwithstanding the word תְּהוֹם *tehom, depth*, in some passages, is supposed to signify the sea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of subterraneous waters, as it manifestly must in other places. And, being here joined with the epithet רַבָּה *rabbah, great*, it seems Moses intended that vast collection of waters, which the most sagacious naturalists place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greatest part of that *deep* which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation.

to draw them out on the ſurface of the earth, their places muſt be filled again with other waters, ſo that this turns to no account upon the whole.

This being the caſe, ſome cut the knot which they cannot looſe, and ſhew us the naked arm of omnipotence: ſaying, that God created waters on purpoſe to make the deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to ceaſe. But our buſineſs is not here to enquire what God could work by his almighty power, but to account for this event in the beſt manner we can from natural cauſes; nor are we raſhly to fly to the divine omnipotence, eſpecially for the creation of new matter. Moſes plainly aſſigns natural cauſes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the diſruption of the abyſs: and St Peter has aſſigned a cauſe alſo, the natural conſtitution of the world; and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others, therefore, inſtead of a creation, ſuppoſe a tranſelementation, and ſay the air was changed into water, and that was the great inſtrumental cauſe of the deluge. But this opinion agrees as little with the philoſophy of Moſes or St Peter as the laſt, and renders the opening of the abyſs perfectly needleſs: beſides, ſuch a tranſmutation would in effect be no more than a condenſation, the inſufficiency of which has been already ſhewn. According to a third expedient, the rain and ſea-waters were rarefied ſo as to reach the determined height: but, if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally are (as in that caſe they muſt have been), it is hard to ſay how they could drown either man or beaſt, keep alive the fiſh, or ſupport the ark. A fourth opinion is, that the antediluvian earth, with all its ſtones, metals, mineral concretions, and all foſſils whatſoever that had obtained any ſolidity, was totally diſſolved in the deluge, the coheſion of its parts perfectly ceaſing: that the corpuſcles of theſe ſolid foſſils, together with the corpuſcles of thoſe which were not before ſolid, ſuch as earth, ſand, and the like; as alſo animals bodies, and parts of animals, bones, teeth, ſhells, vegetables, and parts of vegetables, teeth, ſhrubs, herbs; in ſhort, all bodies whatſoever, which were either in the earth, or that conſtituted the maſs of it, if not quite down to the abyſs, yet at leaſt to the greateſt depth we ever dig, all theſe were promiſcuouſly taken up into the waters, and made one common maſs: that at length they ſubſided downwards together, generally; and, as near as might be expected in ſuch a confuſion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the *ſtrata* of ſtone, marble, coal, and the reſt, of which the earth manifeſtly conſiſts; and, there being bodies of different kinds and conſtitutions, which are nearly of the ſame ſpecific gravity, it thence happened, that bodies of quite different kinds ſubſided at the ſame inſtant, and fell together with the ſame *ſtratum*; for which reaſon the ſhells of cockles, eſcallops, and the reſt, which have a greater degree of gravity, were incloſed and lodged in the *ſtrata* of ſtone and marble, and the heavier kinds of terreſtrial matter, the lighter ſhells not ſinking down till afterwards, and ſo falling among the lighter matter, as chalk, and the like. But this ſtrange and bold hypotheſis, to which the author was driven, to ſolve

theſe

theſe phaenomena of the interior parts of the earth, (which yet might poſſibly be otherwiſe accounted for), is ſo little conſiſtent with the Moſaic hiſtory of the deluge, takes ſo little notice of the "opening the windows "of heaven," and is ſo contrary to the univerſal law of mutual attraction, and the ſpecific gravities of bodies, accounts for ſo few of the phaenomena of the deluge, implies ſuch a new ſort of formation or creation of the earth at the deluge, without warrant for the ſame, and is ſo much more than his obſervations require, or will ſupport, that it cannot engage the aſſent of any conſidering perſon. A fifth opinion is, that tho' the rains might afford a vaſt quantity of water towards a deluge, yet the chief cauſe was the changing the centre of the earth, and ſetting it nearer to the centre or middle of our continent; whereupon the Atlantic and Pacific oceans muſt needs preſs upon the ſubterraneous abyſs; and ſo, by mediation thereof, force the water upwards, and compel it to run out at thoſe wide mouths and apertures made by the divine power breaking up the fountains of the great deep. Theſe waters, thus poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the centre, could not flow down to the ſea again, but muſt needs ſtagnate upon the earth, and overflow it; and afterwards, the earth returning to its old centre, return alſo to their former receptacles. This hypotheſis gives a fair and eaſy ſolution of all the phaenomena of the deluge, ſave only the generality of it, making it topical, and confining it to our continent: for which reaſon a very ſagacious naturaliſt, who otherwiſe approves it, propoſes a ſixth way of ſolving them; and that is, by ſuppoſing, that the divine power might at that time, by the inſtrumentality of ſome natural agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo depreſs the ſurface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyſs through the before-mentioned channels and apertures, and ſo make them a partial and concurrent cauſe of the deluge. And it appears from inſtances, that there are, at ſome times, in the courſe of nature, extraordinary preſſures on the ſurface of the ſea (A), which force the waters outwards upon the ſhores, to a great height. But this, we fear, is too occult a cauſe to give much ſatisfaction to a philoſophical inquirer.

We have ſtill to conſider the hypotheſis of two perſons well known in the republic of letters, whoſe theories we have conſulted on other occaſions; Dr Burnet and Mr Whiſton.

To

(A) We had, upon our coaſts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water roſe ſo high, as to overflow all the ſea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houſes of many villages that ſtood near the ſea; ſo that the inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be effected, but by an unuſual preſſure on the ſuperficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive.

To have a compleat idea of that of the former, we must remember, that he conceives the first earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a smooth and even surface, without mountains, and without a sea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly inclosed within, or under its upper crust, which formed a stupendous vault around them. This vast collection of waters he takes to have been the great deep, or abyss of Moses; and that the disruption of it was the chief cause of the deluge. For he supposes, that the earth being for some hundreds of years exposed to the continual heat of the sun, which, by reason of the perpendicular position, he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the ecliptic, was very intense, and not allayed by that diversity of seasons which now keeps our earth in an equality of temper, its exterior crust was, at length, very much dried; and when the heat had pierced the shell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied, and raised into vapours; which rarefaction made them require more space than they needed before; and, finding themselves pent in by the exterior earth, they pressed with violence against that arch, to make it yield to their dilatation. And as the repeated action of the sun gave force to those inclosed vapours more and more, and made them more strong and violent; so, on the other hand, it weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to resist them, sucking out the moisture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in sundry places; and, there being no winter to close up its parts, it grew more and more disposed to a dissolution; and, at length, when God's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and those great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyss, some in one posture, and some in another.

Dr Burnet's theory.

This hypothesis, the author thinks, not only agrees with the narration of Moses, and answers the assertion of St Peter, that the first earth was obnoxious to a deluge from its constitution, but supplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of those prodigious fragments would raise a vast commotion in the abyss, and throw its waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now first formed, for some time: for, after the first violent shock, he imagines there were, ever and anon, some secondary ruins, which broke, and made new commotions; till, at length, when all the ruins were settled and fixed, the waters began to settle too, and the dry land to appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into sea and land: the greatest part of the abyss constituting our present ocean, and the rest filling up the lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, islands in the sea, and rocks upon the shore: and so providence, at one stroke, dissolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit.

But though it be reasonable to believe the first earth had its axis enclined

clined to the plane of the ecliptic, as well as the preſent, and had the ſame viciſſitudes of ſeaſons; yet, allowing the theoriſt's ſuppoſition, of its parellel poſition, to be true, it is not conceivable that the heat of the ſun would, even then, have had the power he imagines, or affect the earth in ſuch a degree as to cauſe great cracks or fiſſures in it, or to raiſe the water under it into vapours, ſince we find no ſuch effects in the hotteſt country or ſeaſon: nor is it probable ſuch rarefaction, were it poſſible, ſhould be ſo extreme, as to break through an arch of ſome hundred miles thick. Beſides, it is to be feared, that, if the action of the ſun was ſo ſtrong, the abyſs, the only ſtorehouſe of waters in the firſt earth, would have been near exhauſted (C) before the time of the deluge. This account, alſo, ſeems not very conſonant to the Moſaic hiſtory, which deſcribes a gradual riſe and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent tranſient ſhock, which would not have laſted many days, if hours: not to mention the little uſe our author makes of the rains, which he ſuppoſes, indeed, to have fallen throughout the earth, (though he does not know how that could proceed from natural cauſes), and to have contributed to the diſruption of the abyſs, by weakening the arch of the earth, and ſtopping its pores, which would make the vapours ſtruggle the more violently; and that nothing but a miracle could ſave the ark in ſo prodigious a ſtorm and convulſion of nature.

Mr Whiſton's theory.

The expedient of the other learned theoriſt is, the trajection of a comet (D), which, he ſuppoſes, paſſed ſo cloſe by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmoſphere and tail. On which hypotheſis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

He ſays, that when the earth had paſſed through the tail and atmoſphere of the comet, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of vapours rarefied and expanded

(C) Dr Keill has made a plain calculation of this matter; and concludes, that ſince none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theoriſt, returned into the abyſs again, it muſt needs follow, that, in eight hundred and twelve years, it would be quite empty, upon ſuppoſition that there were as many rivers in the primitive earth as are in ours; but as there was then twice the land, if there were no ſeas, ſo there muſt be allowed twice as many rivers to water it: and by ſuch a double quantity the abyſs would be emptied in half that time.

(D) That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is atteſted by ſeveral authors. Pliny mentions one which appeared in the reign of Typhon, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and ſpeaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the laſt moſt remarkable comet, which was ſeen in theſe parts in the year 1680 (whoſe revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whoſe trajectory Sir Iſaac Newton has delineated), was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of Noah's deluge, and which was the cauſe of the ſame.

expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on a calculation, for about two hours, it muſt have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whoſe baſis was ſomewhat larger than one of the earth's greateſt circles, and whoſe altitude was equal to the diameter of the comet's atmoſphere: that theſe vapours would be impeded from deſcending towards the ſun, by the earth's interpoſition, and attractive power; and ſo would fall down, with great violence, on its ſurface; a great part of which, being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condenſation, deſcend, in violent and outragious rains, on the face of the earth, and very naturally occaſion the forty days and forty nights rains mentioned by Moſes.

That the preſence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cauſe a double tide, as well in the ſeas above, as in the abyſs below; that in the ſeas would be leſs conſiderable, but the other would be vaſtly great, and produce mighty effects. For, on the neareſt approach of the comet, the ſurface of the abyſs would put on an elliptic or oval, inſtead of its former ſpherical figure; and the orb of earth, which reſted on it, would be obliged to accommodate itſelf to that larger oval ſurface; which being impoſſible for it to do while it remained ſolid, it muſt, of neceſſity, enlarge itſelf, and, by the violent force of the encreaſing ſurface of the abyſs, be ſtretched, cracked, and have innumerable fiſſures made quite through it; or rather, the tide muſt open and enlarge thoſe fiſſures, which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and ſufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyſs below, and the ſurface of the earth above; which was no ſooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crouded the air with vaſt quantities thereof; which waters, being adventitious, and of a prodigious weight, muſt preſs downwards with a mighty force, and endeavour to ſink the orb of earth deeper into the abyſs, according as the entire weight of each column of earth, and its incumbent water together, did now require, agreeable to the laws of hydroſtatics; which laws he ſuppoſes not to have been exactly complied with at the earth's firſt ſubſiding into the abyſs; otherwiſe he could ſcarce have expected any elevation of the ſubterraneous waters. But ſince the lower ſtrata of the earth were, according to him, in a good meaſure ſettled and conſolidated together, before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would archwiſe ſuſtain itſelf much higher than the law of ſpecific gravity would otherwiſe require; and ſo, upon the diſruption of the upper earth, its ſeveral columns, as there was room, would ſettle themſelves lower than they were at firſt; and their weight, augmented by the additional waters of the comet, would ſqueeze and preſs on the ſurface of the abyſs; which, being a fluid maſs, and incapable of ſuſtaining a preſſure on one part, without equally communicating it to all the reſt, muſt burſt out, where ever ſuch preſſure was wanting, and throw itſelf up the

fiſſures,

fiſſures, through which it would aſcend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth or water; and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a freſh augmentation of that deluge which began already to overwhelm and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof.

The abatement and decreaſe of the waters of the deluge, our author ſuppoſes, was, firſt by a wind, which dried up ſome; and, ſecondly, by their deſcent through thoſe breaches and fiſſures (at which part of them had aſcended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the reſt. To which latter, alſo, the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and ſo promoting their lighting into the before-mentioned fiſſures, was very ſubſervient. The air, he grants, could ſuſtain a very inconſiderable quantity in compariſon of the entire maſs: but as he ſuppoſes the antediluvian earth, though it was not deſtitute of leſſer ſeas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean, ſeparating one continent from another, and covering ſo large a portion of it, as the preſent earth has; he conceives the upper region of the earth, being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickneſs, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water than was on the earth at the time of the deluge.

To this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former: for, though there are ſome ſurpriſing co-incidents, which make it, indeed, probable, that a comet did really come very near, and paſſed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cauſe a prodigious tide in the ſea, and in the abyſs; yet it has been thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſwelling of the abyſs ſhould have ſuch an effect as to make convenient fiſſures in the ſolid cruſt of earth which incloſed it, without ſhattering its whole frame. Nor has the theoriſt's account of draining off the waters from the ſurface of the earth, been judged ſatisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that thoſe ſubterraneous cavities, which, he ſuppoſes, could contain but a ſmall proportion of the waters requiſite to make the deluge, ſhould yet be capable of receiving the greateſt part of them when it was over. Theſe difficulties, however, might poſſibly receive a ſolution: but the greateſt objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmoſphere of a comet be a watery ſubſtance, or no; or, if it were, that it ſhould afford ſuch a vaſt quantity of water as the theory has occaſion for, on the earth's bare paſſing through it. For it is ſaid, the obſervations of the moſt curious inquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the ſmoke, riſing, at firſt, to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is oppoſite to the ſun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by paſſing through the atmoſphere of the comet, ran a greater riſque of a conflagration, than a deluge.

It ſeems, therefore, after all, that the divine aſſiſtance muſt be called in, on this occaſion. For though the waters, which covered the earth at the creation, might be ſufficient to cover it again; yet how this ſhould

ſhould be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were ſuſpended in the clouds might, indeed, deſcend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or ſpouts of water (as the Septuagint interpret the *windows of heaven*), like thoſe in the Indies, where the clouds frequently, inſtead of dropping, fall, with a terrible violence, in a kind of torrent; and this alone might cauſe a great inundation in the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would ſoon be exhauſted at this rate, it ſeems, from the length of the rains continuance, that the ſhowers were rather moderate, and gradual. The ſubterraneous ſtores would afford a much more plentiful ſupply to complete the deluge, and, probably, contain more water than enough to drown the world, to a greater height than Moſes relates (E): the only difficulty is, to draw it out of the abyſs on the ſurface of the earth. And here, ſince we can aſſign no natural cauſe, we apprehend we may, not unphiloſophically, reſolve it into the divine power, which might, on this occaſion, ſo far controul (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) the uſual courſe of nature, as to effect its purpoſe. And, indeed, the event was ſo extraordinary, and the conſequences thereof ſo conſiderable, that it is very reaſonable to believe God did, in an eſpecial manner, interpoſe therein. The Stoics, who ſuppoſed alternate deſtructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the poſſibility of a general deluge. "There are vaſt lakes," ſays Seneca, "which we do not ſee; great part of the ſea lyes hidden "and concealed, and many rivers glide in ſecret: ſo that there may be "cauſes of a deluge on all ſides, when ſome waters flow in under the "earth, others flow round about it, and, being long pent up, overwhelm "it; and as our bodies ſometimes diſſolve into ſweat, ſo the earth ſhall "melt, and, without the help of other cauſes, ſhall find in itſelf what "ſhall drown it; there being in all places, both openly and ſecretly, "both from above, and from beneath, an eruption of waters, ready to "overflow and deſtroy it."

The moſt rational account of the deluge.

Having

(E) Though Sir Walter Raleigh allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the higheſt in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. Olympus, whoſe height is ſo extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and an half perpendicular, and about ſeventy paces. Mount Athos, which is ſaid to caſt its ſhade into the iſle of Lemnos (according to Pliny, eighty-ſeven miles), is not above two miles in height; nor Caucaſus much more: nay, the pike of Teneriff, reputed the higheſt mountain in the world, may be aſcended in three days (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey), which makes it about the height of a German mile perpendicular. And the Spaniards affirm, that the Andes, thoſe lofty mountains of Peru, in compariſon of which, they ſay, the Alps are but cottages, may be aſcended in four days compaſs.

Having thus conſidered the efficient cauſes of the deluge, we muſt, next, take a view of the ark, whereby Noah and his family were delivered from this deſtruction.

Of the ark.

We might preſume, if Moſes had not told us ſo, that a veſſel proportionable and adapted to the uſe deſigned, muſt have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of God himſelf. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30: but what was the exact meaſure of the cubit here mentioned, is diſputed. Some, fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwiſe too ſmall for the intended purpoſe, have enlarged the dimenſions, even to extravagance (F): but the general opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits, one of which, though formerly ſuppoſed equal to eighteen of our inches, is now allowed to contain almoſt 22, or, more exactly, 21.888: according to which meaſure, the ark muſt have been 547.2 Engliſh feet, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high; and the ſolid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet; almoſt double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong ſquare, or parallelipiped, with a flat bottom, and a ſloped roof raiſed a cubit in the middle. It had neither ſails nor rudder, nor was it made ſharp, ſo as to cut the water: which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying ſteadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it; ſo it was very unfit for ſwimming to a great diſtance, or for riding in a boiſterous ſea. It conſiſted of three ſtories, each of which, abating the thickneſs of the floors, might be about eighteen feet high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms or apartments. This veſſel was, without doubt, ſo contrived, as to have the air and light on all ſides (G); though the particular

Its ſize and figure.

(F) When Celſus objected, that the ark was a monſter, with all things in its belly; Origen anſwered, that the ark was like a great city, whoſe baſe was 90,000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad: but in another place he is more moderate, and, without encreaſing the number of the Moſaic cubits, ſuppoſes they were geometrical cubits, each containing ſix ordinary cubits; which laſt opinion is approved by St Auſtin. Some, who cannot digeſt theſe geometrical cubits, ſuppoſe the ark was meaſured by a larger cubit of three foot, or by the ſacred cubit, which was larger by a hand's breadth than the common cubit, all without the leaſt ground or intimation, to that purpoſe, in the ſacred hiſtorian. Sir Walter Raleigh ſuppoſes the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was afterwards in uſe; becauſe, as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger ſtature. But this gains no room in the ark, becauſe the bulk of its cargo muſt have been encreaſed in proportion.

(G) There are various tranſlations of the word צֹהַר *ſohar*, which is found but once in the whole bible, in this ſenſe. Our verſion renders it *window*, as it ſeems very properly; for the root

ticular conſtruction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole ſeems to have had another covering beſides the roof, probably made of ſkins, like that of the tabernacle (H).

That the ſpace in the ark was abundantly ſufficient to contain both Noah and his family, and the animals, and all neceſſary proviſions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men (I), who have yet generally ſuppoſed the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches; whereas, if we take the dimenſions according to the larger meaſure above-mentioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled, as may be eaſily proved.

But another objection has been raiſed againſt the preſervation of animals in the ark, which may not be ſo eaſily anſwered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of ſerpents in Braſil, the ſlow-bellied creatures of the Indies, and all thoſe ſtrange ſpecies of animals ſeen in the Weſt-Indies, ſhould either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into thoſe countries

in the Chaldee ſignifies, *to ſhine*, or *to give light*; wherefore one of the paraphraſts imagines *ſohar* to have been a precious ſtone, or carbuncle, which Noah was to fetch from the river Phiſon, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, "and in "a cubit ſhalt thou finiſh it above," ſome have ſuppoſed the window was to have been a cubit ſquare, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too ſmall; but the relative *it* being in the Hebrew of the feminine gender, and *ſohar* of the maſculine, thoſe two words cannot agree; and therefore, the proper antecedent ſeems to be *the ark*, which was to be covered with a roof, raiſed a cubit high in the middle.

(H) Noah is ſaid, after the flood, to have removed "the covering of the "ark," which cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been the roof, but ſomething flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expreſſed by the ſame Hebrew word; and the uſe of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

(I) Biſhop Wilkins has reduced the number of ſpecies of animals, which, at firſt view, may ſeem almoſt infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of theſe muſt be excepted ſuch as live in the water, ſuch as proceed from a mixture of different ſpecies, and ſuch as change their colour, ſhape, and ſize, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, ſeem to be of different ſpecies, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food neceſſary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough and to ſpare: whereupon he obſerves, that had the moſt ſkilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to conſult what proportions a veſſel deſigned for ſuch an uſe ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of it, they could not have pitched on any more ſuitable to the purpoſe than thoſe mentioned by Moſes. It is not to be expected we ſhould here examine the ſeveral plans given of the ark, which may ſerve indeed to ſhew us the poſſible, but not the real diſpoſition of it.

tries which are divided from that continent where Noah was, by ſo vaſt an ocean on one ſide, and at leaſt ſo large a tract of land on the other (ſuppoſing a paſſage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet diſcovered); and ſome animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are. But to this it may be anſwered, that it is probable that the temperature of the air, before the deluge, was ſo equal and ſerene, that all kinds, even of the American animals, might live and be found in thoſe parts of Aſia when Noah went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate ſince, by reaſon of the change of nature. The great difficulty is, how to get them into America after the flood was over: and here we muſt confeſs we cannot well tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means America was peopled: and yet even thoſe who contend for a partial deluge, allow the inhabitants of that country to be deſcended of Noah (K).

Its materials.

The timber of which the ark was framed, Moſes calls *gopher* wood; but what tree the gopher wood was (L), is controverted. Some will have it the cedar, others the pine, ſome the box, and others, particularly the Mohammedans, the Indian plane-tree: but they ſeem to be in the right who ſuppoſe it to be the cypreſs; which, beſides the reſemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper ſort of timber for the building of ſhips, and not ſubject to rot. To preſerve it from leaking, Noah was directed to ſmear it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, ſome have ſuppoſed it to be not pitch, but bitumen, ſuch as was uſed in the building the tower of Babel: which is probable enough, though Moſes uſes a different word in that place.

Where built.

Nor is there leſs diſagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time ſpent therein. One ſuppoſes it was built in Palaſtine, and that Noah planted the cedars of which he made it, in the plains of Sodom; another takes it to

(K) Mr Whiſton thinks it moſt probable, that ſome were preſerved from the deluge in the American continent as well as in this, though we have no records left among them to give us notice of it. The ſilence of the ſacred hiſtorian as to that world, he takes to be no objection; becauſe he ſuppoſes the *whole earth* of Moſes comprehends no more than the then known parts of the world.

(L) Aben Ezra and Kimhi only ſay it is a ſort of wood ſo called, which is light, and ſwims on the water. The Vulgate and Septuagint take the word *gopher* not to denote the ſpecies of timber, but for an adjective; the firſt tranſlating *ligna laevigata*, *ſmoothed* or *planed timber*, and the other, ξύλα τετραγωνα, *ſquare timber*. Voſſius endeavours to prove, that the expreſſion of this laſt verſion ſignifies not timber ſquared by the workman, but ſuch ſort of trees whoſe branches ſhoot quadrangularly, or by four and four, at equal diſtances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, fir, cedar, and ſome others; but not the cypreſs.

to have been built near mount Caucasus, on the confines of India; and a third, in China, where he imagines Noah dwelt before the flood: but the place seems rather to have been somewhere near Eden; from whence it is to be presumed Noah would not remove far, though not for the reason alledged by some, *viz.* because he was the eldest son in a lineal descent from Seth, which is no way certain from Scripture; nor can we think it was far from Ararat, where the ark rested, that being a vessel which could not be driven to a great distance. It was therefore probably built in Chaldea, in the territories of Babylon; where there was so great a quantity of cypress in the groves and gardens in Alexander's time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber. And this conjecture is confirmed by the Chaldean tradition, which makes Xisuthrus sail from that country.

And in what time.

As to the time, a Rabbin says, the ark was fifty-two years in building; the fathers and oriental authors, an hundred, because Noah is said to be five hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark. Some from the words of St Peter, "that the long-suffering of God waited "while the ark was preparing," suppose Noah was employed therein the whole time of forbearance, which was one hundred and twenty years: and others think the time much shorter, because Noah's three sons, the eldest of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in those very directions, which seems to imply they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unless they perished in the deluge. But there is no such connection or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to establish any of these conjectures. All we can affirm, is, that such a vessel as the ark, and the necessary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

Noah, &c. enter into the ark, and the flood begins.

The appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readiness, Noah, at God's command, went into the ark, with his wife, his sons, and his daughter-in-law (M); and he took in to him, pursuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beasts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and

(M) It is certain, both from the testimony of Moses and St Peter, that eight persons, and no more, were saved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans to the same effect, which is said to have been received from their prophet himself, yet others of them report this number variously: some say they were but six; others ten; others twelve; others seventy-eight; others four-score; half men and half women; and that one of them was the elder Jorham, the preserver, as some pretend, of the Arabian language. But it is more extraordinary, that a Christian

and of the clean by ſevens, the male and his female (N). Noah went into the ark in the ſix hundredth year of his age, on the ſeventeenth day of

ſtian writer ſhould encreaſe the number of Noah's family, by ſuppoſing he had daughters of his own, and their huſbands, his ſons-in-law, with him in the ark. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, alſo tell us, that the family of Noah were not all ſaved; but that one of his ſons, named Yam, or Canaan, whom ſome make his grandſon, and the ſon of Ham, and others his wife's ſon by another huſband, periſhed in the flood. The koran ſays, Noah called to his ſon from the ark, ſaying, 'Embark with us, 'my ſon, and ſtay not with the un-'believers:' he anſwered, 'I will get 'on a mountain, which will ſecure 'me from the waters:' to which Noah replied, 'There is no ſecurity 'this day againſt the decree of God, 'unleſs for them on whom he ſhall 'have mercy.' And immediately a wave ſeparating them, he was drowned. Some commentators add, that Noah's wife likewiſe periſhed with her ſon.

The eaſtern authors differ as to the name of Noah's wife. Some of the Jews call her Tiſiah, or Ariſiſah; others ſay ſhe was Naamah, the daughter of Lamech, of the race of Cain. The Gnoſtics called her Noria; for which Epiphanius reprehends them, and ſays her name was Barthenos. Eutychius tells us Noah's wife was Haical, the daughter of Namuſa, the ſon of Enoch; and that Shem's wife was named Salit; Ham's, Nahlat; and Japhet's, Ariſiſah; and that they were all three the daughters of Methuſelah. But theſe deſerve the ſame credit as the Sybil, who pretends ſhe was in the ark with Noah, being one of his daughters-in-law.

The eaſtern authors add, that Noah, in purſuance of the directions of Adam, handed down to him for that purpoſe, took the body of that patriarch with him into the ark, and placed it in the midſt of the veſſel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge.

(N) It is a doubt whether there went into the ark but ſeven of every clean, and two of every unclean ſpecies, or fourteen of the firſt, and four of the laſt. Some adhere to the former expoſition, and others to the latter, which ſeems to be the natural ſenſe of the Hebrew words, *ſeven* and *ſeven*; and *two* and *two; the male and his female*. Beſides, if there were but ſeven of the clean beaſts, one muſt have been without a mate; and if we anſwer, that the odd one was for ſacriſice, it is more than Moſes tells us; who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs. If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what biſhop Wilkins computes it, will be no more than neceſſary for double the number of animals; eſpecially if we conſider the birds went in by ſevens: unleſs the diſtinguiſhing word *clean*, which is inſerted in the Samaritan text, and in the Septuagint and Syraic verſions, ſhould be ſupplied in the Hebrew.

If it be aſked by what means Noah got all theſe animals together into the ark, the beſt anſwer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a ſupernatural impulſe from God; which ſeems to be intimated by the words of Scripture; though others ſuppoſe it was done by the aſſiſtance of angels.

of the second month, which answers to our seventh of December (O); while the rest of mankind were in the height of security, and, contemning the repeated admonitions of Noah, did eat and drink, did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all. For on the self-same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to encrease for five months, till they reached their utmost height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards, or twenty-seven foot above the tops of the highest mountains: but they seem to have been free from storms or violent commotions, and to have raised and carried the ark gently along; that vessel, as has been observed, being unable to abide a stormy sea.

The waters assuage.

At the end of the five months, God caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to assuage, the two sources which fed them being stopped and restrained. On the very first day of their decrease, *viz.* the seventeenth day of the seventh month, or the sixth of May, they fell so much, that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat: and by the first of the tenth month, or nineteenth of July, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. Forty days after, or about the twenty-eight of August, Noah, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven (P), which flew to and fro till the earth was dry,

(O) Several writers have fallen into mistakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox: but since the antediluvian year indisputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the twenty-seventh day of the second month will fall, according to the Hebrew calculation, on the seventh of December, as archbishop Usher computes, whom we follow: on the sixth of November, as others reckon; or on the twenty-eighth of November, which is the calculation of Mr Whiston.

It is remarkable, that the day assigned by Moses for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein Plutarch tells us Osiris went into the ark, *viz.* the seventeenth of *Athyr*, which month is the second after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through Scorpius. Nor does it differ above a day or two from that set down by Berosus, if we allow what probably may have been the case, that that writer, or his transcribers, fell into the mistake abovementioned, and supposed the flood began the second month from the vernal equinox, which was *Daesius*; whereas the true month was *Apellaeus*, the second from the autumnal equinox.

The Mohammedans say the flood began the tenth of *Rajeb*.

(P) The raven is supposed to have been sent out, because Noah thought the smell of the carcases would tempt him to fly to some distance; instead of which, he kept hovering about the ark; having some jealousy, as the Jews pretend, of his mate. Though the Hebrew says the raven returned again, yet, according to the Septuagint,

dry, but gave Noah no satisfactory information; whereupon he sent out a dove (Q) three several times, staying seven days between each. The first time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her feet to rest on; the second time she came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive-leaf plucked off, which shewed a considerable abatement of the waters; and the third time she returned no more.

On the first day of the first month, answering to our twenty-third of October, in the six hundredth and first year of Noah's life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and saw the surface of the earth was cleared of the waters: however, he staid sometime longer in the ark, till the twenty-seventh of the second month, or the eighteenth of December, when by God's direction he came out of the ark, with his family, and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days, according to the antediluvian computation; and, according to the present, a full year, or three hundred sixty-five days.

Year of the world 1657. Year before Christ 2347. *Noah, &c. leave the ark.*

We shall conclude this section with adding a word or two concerning the Persian and Indian traditions relating to the deluge.

The Persian and Indian traditions of the flood.

An eastern writer tells us, that some of those who embrace the Magian religion are said to deny the flood, or at least the universality of it, pretending that it reached no farther than a cliff near Hulwan, a city of Irak, bordering on Curdestan. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general destruction by water, wherein all mankind perished, except some few that were preserved by providence; and that it was sent by God to punish the crimes of mankind; one of whom, named Malcus, was a monster of wickedness and impiety. One odd circumstance

gint, Syraic and Vulgate versions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he perished in the waters. The Rabbins have framed a dialogue on this occasion between Noah and the raven; who asking, why he was picked out to be sent on that errand; Noah told him, because the world might well be without ravens, which were neither fit for food nor for sacrifice.

(Q) The dove was probably sent out because of her tameness, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her nest from the greatest distance. Some of the Jews pretend she took the olive-leaf from paradise, others from mount Olivet; for they imagine Judea was not drowned in the deluge. From the olive-leaf Noah might infer, that the lower hills, where those trees chiefly grow, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally destroyed. The Chaldean tradition agrees with the Mosaic history in the circumstance of the birds being sent out by Xisuthrus. And Plutarch says, that, according to the mythologists, a dove was let out of the ark; and that her going out was to Deucalion a sign of fair weather, and her return of foul.

ſtance mentioned by them is, that the firſt waters of the deluge guſhed out of the oven (R) of a certain old woman, named Zala Cufa.

We are told by the ſame author, that the Indians acknowledge no deluge: but this muſt not be underſtood of all; for the Bramins ſay, that the four tribes, or caſts, of which the firſt race of men conſiſted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the prieſt neglecting his piety, the ſoldier becoming inſolent and tyrannical, the merchant practiſing deceit in trade, and uſing falſe balances, and the artizan ſpending the profits of his inventions in riot and exceſs; their impiety and wickedneſs grew at length to ſo inſufferable an height, that God's indignation was juſtly provoked, and he ſent a flood, which deſtroyed all nations without exception: after which, God, to repair mankind, created three perſons of greater excellency than thoſe of the former generation; to one of whom, named Bremaw, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the firſt human pair proceeding one from his right ſide, the other from his left. The man was called Manow, and the woman Ceteroupa, and by them was the earth repleniſhed. It muſt be obſerved, however, that theſe people believe ſeveral alternate deſtructions and reparations of mankind; and ſome of them ſay, there have been already no leſs than three deſtructions by water, and that another is yet to be expected by the ſame element.

SECT. VI.

Of the ſtate of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.

Of the ſtate of the old world.

WE cannot diſmiſs the hiſtory of the old world, without taking a tranſient view of the antediluvian ſtate of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood.

The religion, policy, arts and ſciences of theſe firſt men, would be a very entertaining ſubject, if the greateſt part of what can be ſaid on theſe heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

The religion of the antediluvians.

The only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered ſacrifices, and that very early, both of the fruits of the earth and of animals; but whether the blood and fleſh of the animals, or only their milk and wool, were offered, is a diſpute which we ſhall conſider elſewhere.

Some

(R) Mohammed has borrowed this circumſtance, and inſerted it in his koran. The commentators ſay, it was the ſign by which Noah knew the flood was coming. And ſome pretend it was the ſame oven which Eve made uſe of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from thoſe we uſe, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it deſcended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah.

Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from Adam had ſtated places, and annual and weekly times ſet apart for divine worſhip, and alſo a ſeparate maintenance for the prieſts; all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be made out from the Scripture. But, what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian ſabbath was kept, and that it was the ſame with the Chriſtian ſabbath, or ſunday: which notion we ſhall, in a proper place, ſhew to be very groundleſs and precarious.

Of the arts and ſciences of theſe people we have not much more to ſay. They ſeem rather to have ſpent their time in luxury and wantonneſs, to which the abundant fertility of the firſt earth invited them, than in diſcoveries or improvements, which, probably, they ſtood much leſs in need of than their ſucceſſors. The art of working metals was found out by the laſt generation of Cain's line; and muſic, which they might be ſuppoſed to practiſe for their pleaſure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the ſame generation. Some authors have ſuppoſed aſtronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a miſtake of Joſephus: but it is to be preſumed, the progreſs they made therein, or in any other ſcience, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful, whether letters were ſo much as known before the flood (as will be ſhewn in another place), whatever is pretended by ſome men, who have conceived ſo high an opinion of Adam's knowledge, that they ſuppoſe it to have been almoſt univerſal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to Seth and Enoch, which are forgeries too groſs to deſerve any conſideration. *Their arts and ſciences.*

As to their politics and civil conſtitutions, we have not ſo much as any circumſtances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the firſt, was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place, and much ſooner among the race of Cain than that of Seth. It ſeems alſo, that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood; or rather, it is a queſtion, whether, after the union of the two great families of Seth and Cain, there were any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, or diverſity of regular governments at all; it is more likely that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural conſequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, ſo it was a circumſtance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwiſe, perhaps, could not have ſo univerſally overſpread the antediluvian world. And for this reaſon, chiefly as it ſeems, ſo ſoon as the poſterity of Noah were ſufficiently encreaſed, a plurality of tongues was miraculouſly introduced, in order to divide *Their polity.*

them into distinct societies, and thereby prevent any such total depravation for the future.

The state of the natural world before the flood seems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at present.

The old world more populous and fertile than the present.

The antediluvian world was, in all probability, stocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the present earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing or supplying. This seems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the present standard of life, in the proportion, at least, of ten to one, the antediluvians must accordingly, in any long space of time, double themselves, at least, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themselves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late, in proportion, as men do now; and the several children of the same father seem to have succeeded as quickly one after another, as they usually do at this day; and as many generations, which are but successive with us, were cotemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once would be, by that means, sufficiently encreased to answer any defect, which might arise from other circumstances not considered. So that, if we make a computation on those principles (S), we shall find, that there were a considerable number of people in the world at the death of Abel, though their father Adam was not then one hundred and thirty years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would easily amount to above one hundred thousand millions (even according to the Samaritan chronology;) that is, to twenty times as many as our present earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be supposed capable of maintaining in its present constitution. From whence it follows, that, to sustain so much larger a number of inhabitants (besides the brute animals, which were, very probably, as numerous in proportion), the earth must have been much more fruitful before that desolation than it

(S) It is now generally owned, and that from good observations, that mankind do double themselves in about three hundred and sixty, or three hundred and seventy years; or, allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare cases of general wars, famines, plagues, and such like desolations, in about four hundred years. So that, allowing the period for the doubling of mankind, from the creation to the deluge, to be ten times shorter, by reason of their so much longer lives; if we have a series of forty numbers, beginning at two (for so many God created himself at first), and doubling themselves in forty, or for convenience, in forty-one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we shall, in some degree, obtain the sum total of mankind at the deluge, and also in the several ages before that time; though this period of doubling must still have been much shorter in the earliest, and longer in the latest times of the interval.

it has been since; though it was then barren, in comparison of its primitive fertility before the fall.

Of the longevity of the antediluvians.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances which occurs in the antediluvian history, is the vast length of mens lives in those first ages in comparison of our own. Few now arrive to eighty or an hundred years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thousand; a disproportion almost incredible, were it not incontestably certain from the joint testimonies of sacred and profane writers (T), whose authority in this point being not to be eluded, some, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined that the ages of those first men might possibly be computed not by solar years, but months, which reduces the length of their lives rather to a shorter period than our own. But for this there is not the least foundation; besides the many absurdities that would thence follow, such as their begetting children at about six years of age, as some of them in that case must have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to considerably less than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the Septuagint.

The causes of it.

The causes of this longevity are variously assigned: some have imputed it to the sobriety of the antediluvians, and the simplicity of their diet; that they ate no flesh (U), and had none of those provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. This, were it true, might have some effect, but not possibly to such a degree as we are speaking of, since we have had many temperate and abstemious persons in latter ages, who yet seldom have exceeded the usual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and some peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of those days: but as the earth was cursed immediately after the fall, its fruits we may suppose gradually decreased in their virtue and goodness till the flood; and yet we do not see the length of men's lives decreased considerably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of those inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the strength of their *stamina*, or first principles of their bodily constitutions: which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the sole and adequate cause of

(T) Josephus reckons up the testimonies of Manetho, Berosus, Mochus, Hestiaeus, Jerom the Egyptian, and the writers of the Phoenician antiquities. He says also, that Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellcanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Nicolaus, wrote that the ancients lived a thousand years. Of all which testimonies, we have none now extant, except only that of Hesiod.

(U) A learned physician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among several causes of the longevity of the first men, enumerated by him, one is, their eating of raw flesh; the most nourishing, and best parts whereof, he supposes, are carried off in dressing, by the action of the fire.

of their longevity: for Shem, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian conſtitution, fell three hundred years ſhort of the age of his forefathers, becauſe the greateſt part of his life was paſſed after the flood.

It has therefore been more rationally ſuppoſed, that the chief cauſe of this longevity was the wholeſome conſtitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholeſome, breaking by degrees the priſtine craſis of the body, and ſhortening men's lives, in a very few ages, to near the preſent ſtandard. But how the flood ſhould induce or occaſion ſuch a change in the air, is not eaſy to comprehend.

The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr Burnet.

Dr Burnet, as he attributes the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth to a perpetual equinox, the conſequence of the direct or parallel poſition which he ſuppoſes the earth then had to the ſun; ſo he thinks the barrenneſs of the preſent earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of ſeaſons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and ſhattered, loſt its poiſe, and fell into that oblique ſituation which it now has. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of the air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightning, rain, ſnow, hail, ice, tempeſtuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter ſtranger, cauſing a ſenſible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life.

—and Mr Whiſton.

Mr Whiſton is of the ſame opinion as to the different ſtates of the air before and ſince the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well as on the productions of the earth; but aſſigns very different cauſes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, ſuch as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and ſuch as the generality of our fellow-planets, (eſpecially our next neighbour the moon), as far as we can obſerve, are ſuppoſed to have had at firſt, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reaſon be deſired, is to give a plain account of thoſe oppoſite phaenomena of the earth which we are now ſo ſenſible of, and by what means the deluge could occaſion the ſame. And this he endeavours to do, by ſuppoſing, 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypotheſis, was the cauſe of the deluge, in paſſing by the earth, by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipſis: and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vaſt quantities of the groſs heterogeneous and indigeſted maſſes with which the chaotic atmoſphere of the comet was crouded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part, being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, ſettled and formed a new cruſt over the ſurface of the earth, which was ſomewhat encreaſed by the dirt and ſoil thrown up by the ſubterraneous waters, and waſhed from the mountains.

These

Theſe two great changes in the natural world would have very conſiderable conſequences. That made in the earth's orbit, beſides altering the form of the year (X), would, by placing us at a greater diſtance from the ſun, occaſion a very ſenſible decreaſe in the heat of that luminary, which muſt (on calculation) have been a twenty-fifth part greater before the flood than ſince. The primigenial ſoil would ly buried under the ſediment or factitious cruſt, which he computes to be about one hundred and five feet thick, wherein the fertile mould would be much thinner ſpread than before the deluge; conſidering which circumſtances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the conſolidation of the adventitious ſediment, it naturally follows, that the preſent earth could be nothing near ſo fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was. This ſuppoſition of a new cruſt acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way, alſo accounts for the phaenomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and ſhells of fiſh, and other marine and vegetable productions ſo frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great diſtances from the ſea. The heterogeneous compoſition of our preſent groſs atmoſphere, acquired likewiſe from the comet, muſt neceſſarily occaſion great irregularities and depravations in the temperature and conſtitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the ſun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to thoſe calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of ſulphureous and ſultry, and in the frigid ones of nitrous and freezing effluvia or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind from one region to another; thoſe extremities of heat and cold, and ſudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now ſo ſenſible of, are thence eaſily accounted for; and the ſame nitro-ſulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewiſe occaſion thoſe corruſcations, meteors, thunders, lightning, clouds, rain, winds and ſtorms, ſo common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free.

As both the theoriſts deny there was any rain, at leaſt in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be aſked what expedients they have

(X) The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in abſolute ſpace of time, nearly equal to our preſent and ancient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty-eight minutes, and an half, ſhorter than our preſent ſolar year; yet it contained three hundred and ſixty antediluvian days, which were equal to only three hundred and fifty-five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes, of our preſent days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days conſequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter, derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cauſe.

have found out to ſupply it with water. Mr Whiſton, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and ſeas (though no great ocean) in the firſt earth, effects this with little difficulty; ſuppoſing, the vapours elevated by the ſun in the day, which the purity and thinneſs of the air hindered from condenſing and falling down in rain, deſcended however in regular and gentle miſts in the night. But Dr Burnet, in whoſe antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor ſeas (Y), and the whole element of water was locked up in the abyſs, is obliged to have recourſe to a more extraordinary explication. He ſays, that the action of the ſun being very ſtrong and conſtant in raiſing vapours, and the earth at firſt moiſt and ſoft, as it grew more dry, the rays of the ſun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyſs which lay underneath, and was an inexhauſted ſtorehouſe of new vapours (Z). Thoſe vapours would be hindered by the heat from condenſing into clouds or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains nor contrary winds to ſtop or compreſs them, would bend their courſe where they found the leaſt reſiſtance, and that would be towards the poles or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condenſed, and fall down in a continual rain or dew upon thoſe parts of the earth; ſo that there would be a conſtant ſource of waters, which would neither fail nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal ſupply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of theſe waters on the even ſurface of the earth, and of their forming themſelves into rivers, which ſeems a difficulty not eaſily to be got over, he ſuppoſes the earth was not exactly ſpherical, but oval; the polar parts being higher

(Y) To this form of the primaeval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr Burnet has met with a ſurpriſing teſtimony from an Ethiopian tradition, delivered to the count Balthaſar Caſtiglione, by a philoſopher of that nation then in Spain, which is to the following effect; *viz.* That the firſt earth was much more ſpacious than the preſent, and nearer to heaven: that it was perfectly round, without mountains or valleys, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a ſponge: that the inhabitants breathed a moſt pure air, and paſſed their lives happily; the earth ſpontaneouſly bringing forth moſt excellent fruits, without plowing or ſowing; but after many ages, when mankind, elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive innocence, the angry gods ſhook the earth with ſo vehement a concuſſion, that the greateſt part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before incloſed in thoſe hidden receſſes, was thereby violently forced out; and to this, the fountains, rivers, lakes, and ſea, owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but ſtood above the reſt, appeared as mountains; and the iſlands and rocks, in the midſt of the ſea, are nothing elſe but fragments of the hollow earth, which remained after that ſudden diſruption, and fall of the whole terreſtrial frame.

(Z) Yet, if a calculation made be true, this ſtorehouſe would be quite exhauſted, long before the deluge.

higher than the equinoctial, that is, more remote from the centre; by which means the waters which fell about the extreme parts would have a continual deſcent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing into leſſer and leſſer ſtreams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the ſun, or drank up by the thirſty ſands of the torrid zone.

Whether any rain-bow before the flood.

If either of theſe hypotheſes be admitted, the diſpute whether there was any rainbow or not before the deluge, muſt be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rain in ſenſible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rainbow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phaenomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is ſomewhat hard to conceive how it could be a ſign or confirmation of the covenant which God made with Noah, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promiſe. For if we ſuppoſe it even an arbitrary ſign, and to have no connection with the effect, it ſeems that, to make it ſignificant and ſatisfactory, it muſt be ſomething new, otherwiſe it could not ſignify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promiſe. And accordingly, it has been obſerved, that the ſigns by inſtitution only, mentioned in Scripture, have all ſomething new and ſtrange, as a mark of the hand of God: at leaſt it muſt be acknowledged, that if Noah had never ſeen a rainbow before, that ſign muſt have made a much more lively impreſſion on him, and given him much greater comfort and aſſurance in God's promiſe, than if it had been no more than what he muſt have often obſerved before the late terrible devaſtation.

Whether fleſh might be eaten before the flood.

Whether fleſh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is alſo a queſtion which has been much debated. By the permiſſion expreſly given to Noah for that purpoſe after the flood, and God's aſſigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beaſt at the creation, one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have ſuppoſed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to Adam by God over the animal creation; and the diſtinction of beaſts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood; is inſiſted on as a ſtrong argument on this ſide, and which it is not eaſy to anſwer. To ſay that diſtinction was uſed proleptically, is a mere ſubterfuge; and to ſuppoſe it made ſolely to diſtinguiſh what was lawful or unlawful to be ſacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the cuſtom to offer to God ſuch fruits and animals as were fit for food and ſuſtenance, and not ſuch as were of no uſe or benefit to mankind in that reſpect.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The GENERAL HISTORY *from the* DELUGE *to the birth of* ABRAHAM.

SECT. I.

The CHRONOLOGY *from the* DELUGE *to the departure of* ABRAHAM *from* HARAN *ſtated.*

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the poſtdiluvian hiſtory, we ſhall ſettle the chronology of this firſt period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjuſted only from the records of Moſes.

This is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology; not only becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the Moſaical writings. It is a great misfortune, that there ſhould be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of ſocieties and governments, the riſe of arts and ſciences, and the beginning of ſtates and monarchies, falling within theſe limits, nothing could have been more ſerviceable to hiſtory than a fixed and uniform chronology of theſe early ages: whereas authors, being divided in their judgments about the authenticneſs of the ſeveral copies, have every one choſen to follow that which agreed beſt with his own notions or hypotheſis; whereby they have ſo perplexed and confounded all tranſactions, both ſacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the hiſtory thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

However, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction, that the great differences between the ſeveral copies end here; and that, being once got below the birth of Abraham, we enter upon a more certain ſeries of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the ſeveral copies making a difference of but a few years, not ſeveral ages, as we find the difference ariſes to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which, we have inſerted the following table, adjuſted in the ſame form with that we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

A TABLE

A TABLE *of the years of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs, to the birth of* ABRAHAM.

	Their ages at their ſons birth.				Years they lived after their ſons birth.			Length of their lives.		
	Heb.	Joſ.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Shem after the flood —	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad, —	35	135	135	135	403	303	430	438	438	565
Cainan, —	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
Salah, —	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber, —	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
Phaleg, —	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
Reu, —	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	39
Serug, —	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nahor, —	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
Terah, —	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to Abraham's birth,	352	892	1002	1132						

We have choſen to follow the readings of the Alexandrian manuſcript; according to which, the only difference between the Septuagint and the Samaritan, in this period, is 130 years given to Cainan, who is added between Arphaxad and Salah, but is to be found neither in the Hebrew nor the Samaritan, nor in the chronology of thoſe times, given us, from the Septuagint itſelf, by Africanus and Euſebius: which circumſtance we look upon as ſufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithſtanding his name is inſerted in St Luke; which may eaſily have happened, by its being added from ſome erroneous copies of the Septuagint, and firſt, as is moſt probable, put in the margin, though it has ſince crept into the text.

The difference between the Hebrew reckoning and the Samaritan, in this period, is very conſiderable, being no leſs than 650 years; in which the Hebrew falls ſhort of the Samaritan. As to the objections, which have been thence formed againſt the former calculation, the reader will find them fully anſwered by Uſher, Capſovius, and other eminent chronologers: and we ſhall have occaſion to take notice of them hereafter.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The HISTORY *of* NOAH *after the Flood, and of his descendants to* ABRAHAM.

Year of flood 1. Bef. Chr. 2347.

THE time of Noah's going forth of the ark, is fixed, in Scripture, to have been on the first day of the six hundred and first year of his age (A). The first thing he did, upon his landing, was, to build an altar, and offer a burnt-sacrifice, of every clean beast, and every clean fowl (B). God, having accepted the sacrifice, blessed Noah, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permission to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground: however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to shed that of man; ordering him to punish man-slaughter with death, and to people the world as fast as he could.

Noah comes out of the ark.

The precepts given him by God.

It is not to be thought, that these three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on Noah and his posterity, till the promulgation of the law at Sinai; there being nothing here required of his duty towards God, the whole consisting in moral precepts; but we are to consider them either as explanatory of, or additional to, the laws which Noah had received in common with the rest of the antediluvians, and which were derived from Adam. The permission to eat flesh, now first explicitly given, seems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood; but, to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already said on that subject.

The rabbins pretend, that God gave to Noah, and his sons, certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently, and for the non-observance of which, the Gentiles themselves have been punished by God. These precepts enjoined, 1. To abstain from idolatry. 2. From blasphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To institute judges to maintain those laws. And, 7. To abstain from eating the flesh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living. Which last precept was supposed to be intended by the words, "the flesh with the life thereof, which "is the blood thereof, shall you not eat." This barbarity some pagans are said to have practised. From the time of Moses, the Jews would not suffer a stranger to live among them, unless he observed the precepts of the

(A) The Mohammedans will have it, that Noah quitted the ark the tenth day of Moharram, which is the first day of their year; and that he instituted the fast observed by them on that day, which they call *Ashura*, in commemoration of his deliverance.

(B) Some Rabbins pretend, Shem offered the sacrifice, Noah being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion.

the Noahidæ; and never gave quarter, in battle, to any who were ignorant of them.

Maimonides ſays, the ſix firſt precepts were given to Adam, the ſeventh to Noah. To theſe, ſome rabbins add others; as the prohibition to draw out the blood of any living creature to drink; to maim animals; to uſe magic and ſorcery; to couple animals, and graft trees with different kinds. But what calls the antiquity of theſe precepts in queſtion, is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in Scripture, nor in Onkelos, nor in Joſephus, nor in Philo; and that neither Jerom, nor Origen, nor any of the antient fathers, appear to have known any thing of them.

Biſhop Cumberland, who likewiſe juſtly ſuſpects the veracity of the rabbins, thinks the patriarchal laws are to be ſearched for in the Scripture; and, accordingly, in a particular treatiſe on that ſuject, he has ſhewn from thence, that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered to Moſes, carefully obſerved the principal precepts, as well towards God, as towards man, ſo as to fulfil the decalogue; moved thereto either by the ſame promiſes, or fear of the ſame judgments and puniſhments, which were afterwards pronounced by the Moſaical law.

God aſſures Noah the world ſhould not periſh by a ſecond deluge.

God farther made a covenant with Noah, never to drown the world again; promiſing, as a token thereof, for the future, to ſet his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This ſeems to have been done to take away Noah's apprehenſions, who, according to Joſephus, ſacrificed to appeaſe God's wrath, fearing an anniverſary deluge; for which ſuppoſition that hiſtorian has been cenſured ſomewhat too ſeverely.

Noah becomes an huſbandman.

Noah, being come down from the mountain, applied himſelf to huſbandry, and planted a vineyard; but the eaſtern authors make this the work of his ſons. However, Noah, having drank of the wine to exceſs, lay careleſly, uncovered, in his tent; which his ſon Ham perceiviug, called in his brothers, Shem and Japhet, to behold the poſture their father was in: but they, out of a ſenſe of duty and modeſty, took a garment, and, going backwards, covered Noah with it; for which, when he came to know what had paſſed, he bleſſed them, and curſed Ham in his poſterity, who were to be ſervants to their brethren.

Where firſt he ſettled.

The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah, after quitting the ark, went and ſettled at Erivan, about twelve leagues from Ararat; and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they ſtill make excellent wine. According to Travernier, Nakſhiwan, which is three leagues diſtant from Ararat, was the place where Noah went to dwell: and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldeſt city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of Cemain, above-mentioned, to be the place where Noah and his ſons fixed their firſt habitation. But this is to be underſtood of the places where theſe towns were afterwards

built; for it is not likely they began to build towns so early, much less that the deluge left them standing, if there had been any there before: and the Scripture says, Noah was in his tent when Ham surprised him in wine.

Noah not Fo hi.

However, this tradition, so far as it relates to Noah's settling in the country near the mountain where the ark rested, seems more probable, than a notion lately advanced, by some men of learning, that Noah left his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in some little time, and, with his younger issue, travelled to China, where he lived before the deluge; and that he was the first king of that country, whom the Chinese call *Fo hi* (C); it seeming more agreeable to reason, as well as Scripture, to conclude, that Noah continued

(C) This opinion (much more reasonable than that of Hornius, who will have *Fo hi* to be Adam, though the Chinese expressly make a different person the first man, whom they call *Puon ku*) depends on the following observations:

1. The Chinese histories say, Fo hi had no father; which agrees well enough with Noah, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge, and so give occasion to this fable, that he had no father at all.

2. The same histories affirm, that Fo hi's mother conceived him as she was encompassed with a rainbow; which seems an imperfect tradition concerning the first appearance of the rainbow to Noah after the flood.

3. The character and appellation of Fo hi, among the Chinese, agrees with what the Scriptures affirm of Noah ——Fo hi, says Le Compte, the first emperor of China, carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of heaven and earth. For this reason, some called him *Paohi*, that is, 'oblation.' "Noah," says Moses, "took into the ark of every clean "beast by sevens, of fowls also of "the air by sevens, the male and his "female, to keep seed alive upon the "face of all the earth." And after the Flood, "Noah builded an altar "unto the LORD, and took of every "clean beast, and every clean fowl, "and offered burnt-offerings on the "altar."

4. The Chinese histories affirm, that Fo hi settled in the province of Shensi, which is the most north-west province of China, and very near to mount Caucasus, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark rested, and from which Noah must descend to go thence into China. In favour of this opinion, it is also further observed,

5. That the Mosaic history, as it is perfectly silent in relation to the peopling of China at the dispersion, confining itself within the bounds of the then known world; so it says little or nothing of Noah after the flood: which seems to be an intimation, that Noah had no share in the subsequent actions related in the sacred history; and so, by a fair consequence, might be in China, a region out of the compass of the known world.

6. That this is confirmed by the Chaldean tradition of the sudden disappearing of Xisuthrus, or Noah, his wife and daughter, and the pilot, on their coming out of the ark.

7. That the Chinese language and writing are so entirely different from those

tinued with his poſterity till his death; and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt ſomewhere near the mountain where it reſted, which was in Armenia; and that they did not remove till ſuch time as they are mentioned in Scripture to have begun their journey towards Shinaar.

Noah dies. Noah died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried in Meſopotamia, where they ſhew his ſepulchre, in a caſtle near a monaſtery called *Dair Abunah*, that is, *the monaſtery of our father*. According to a common opinion, before his death,

thoſe among us, introduced by the confuſion of Babel, that they cannot well be derived from thence.

8. That the diſperſion beginning from Babylon, ſo remote a country as China could not be ſo ſoon reached and peopled, as the prodigious number of its inhabitants, at preſent, ſhew it to have been: and therefore they could not be of ſo late an original.

9 That the learned ſciences ſeem to have been antiently much better known in China, than in theſe parts of the world; their government and conſtitution much firmer, and more laſting than ours; their moſt antient hiſtories more authentic and certain than ours (excepting thoſe of more than human original): all which things would make one ready to imagine, that as it is probable Noah might be much more wiſe and learned than any of his ſons; ſo all thoſe ſettlements, laws, and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable effects and teſtimonies of the ſame.

10 And, principally, that the reign of Fo hi, according to the moſt rational and exact account hitherto given of the Chineſe chronology, coincides with the time of Noah; and that the length of the reigns and lives of Fo hi, and his firſt ſucceſſors, greatly correſponds with the duration of the lives of men in the ſame ages recorded in Scripture.

But as this opinion is conjectural only, ſo ſeveral objections might be made to it. As,

1. That it is improbable, if Noah was Fo hi, that the Chineſe annals ſhould make no mention of ſo extraordinary an event as the deluge; which they are ſo far from having recorded, that Couplet expreſly makes it an error in thoſe who imagine they have.

2. The uncertainty of the Chineſe writers themſelves, as to the hiſtory of Fo hi, and his next ſucceſſors; ſome doubting whether there was ever ſuch a man as Fo hi, and others rejecting both him and his ſucceſſors Shin nungh, and beginning with Hoangh ti, the third king. Wherefore Couplet leaves them out of the ſucceſſion of Chineſe monarchs; and that not without reaſon, ſince Fo hi is ſaid to have had the body of a ſerpent, and Shin nungh the head of an ox.

3. Moſes's account of the diſperſion ſeems moſt evidently to relate to all mankind, without exception, who, he ſuppoſes, were collected together in the plain of Shinaar; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And, if this be admitted, Noah, having no other iſſue than his three ſons named by Moſes, conſequently could not reign in China.

This matter, however, we may be, probably, able to decide, when we come to treat profeſſedly of the Chineſe affairs; wherein we expect ſome aſſiſtance from the new hiſtory of China,

death, he divided the world among his three ſons, giving, to Shem, Aſia; to Ham, Africa; and, to Japhet, Eurupe: but this has not the leaſt foundation in Scripture.

The chief deſign of Moſes being to record what particularly concerned the Iſraelites, he has given us the genealogy of the line of Shem only entire. As to the deſcendants of the other two ſons of Noah, his deſign ſeems to have been, to bring them down as low as the diſperſion, in order to leave to poſterity the names of the firſt founders of nations, and there to diſmiſs them: for it is obſervable, that though ſeveral particulars are mentioned in the courſe of the Moſaical hiſtory, relating to the Canaanites, as the people with whom the Iſraelites were more particularly to be concerned; yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of Ham no farther: on the contrary, it is ſhorter than thoſe of Mizraim and Cuſh, by one generation.

Nor indeed, is there much to be collected from Scripture, relating to the deſcendants of Shem, more than their names, and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of Peleg, till we come to Terah, the father of Abraham, with whom the period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the ſacred hiſtory, the Jews have taken care, according to their uſual cuſtom, plentifully to ſupply with the figments and conceits of their rabbins, a ſet of men who have ſurpaſſed all others in the art of trifling, and inventing abſurdities. On the other hand, the Chriſtian chronologers and hiſtorians, of all ages, who have endeavoured to connect the profane hiſtory with the ſacred, within this period, would furniſh us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their ſeveral opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has ſettled. We ſhall, therefore, take notice of but a very few of them; ſuch contradictory ſentiments ſerving only to ſhew the uncertainty of the whole, and, conſequently, to confound, rather than to inſtruct the reader.

We ſhall not, in this place, touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the poſterity of Noah, which we have reſerved for the ſubject of a diſtinct ſection, that we might not mix the hiſtory of that remarkable tranſaction with other matters.

Of Japhet and his poſterity.

Though Japhet is generally placed laſt in Scripture, yet he is expreſly ſaid to be the eldeſt (D): and that he was ſo, is farther evident; for that Noah was five hundred

na, lately publiſhed in Italy, written by a mandarin, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before Chriſt.

(D) This is the ſenſe of the paſſage according to the Engliſh verſion, and the Septuagint; but the Vulgate tranſlates it, 'Shem the elder bro-'ther of Japhet.' The former interpretation muſt be the true one, for the reaſon immediately given; though the original and the oriental verſions are capable of either ſenſe.

dred years old when he begat his three ſons; according to which manner of expreſſion in Scripture, one of them was born in his five hundredth year: but it could not be Shem; for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of Arphaxad, two years after the flood, when Noah was ſix hundred and three years old, it follows that he himſelf was born in the five hundred and third year of Noah; nor could it be Ham, for he is expreſly ſaid to have been the younger; ſo that Japhet was the eldeſt of the three ſons.

Japhet, being affected, as well as Shem, with filial concern at Ham's expoſing their father's nakedneſs, aſſiſted to cover him, and had a bleſſing given him by Noah on that occaſion. "God," ſays that patrarch, "ſhall en-"large Japhet (E), and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan "ſhall be his ſervant." The firſt part of this prophecy has been verified in the great poſſeſſions which fell to the deſcendants of Japhet; as all Europe, and all the northern part of Aſia, the Leſſer Aſia, Media, Armenia, the countries between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, as well as thoſe lying to the north of them, Grand Tartary, with India and China. Add to theſe, the European colonies in America of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are deſcended. The next part of the prophecy, that he ſhould dwell in the tents of Shem, ſeems to refer to the overthrow of the Aſſyrian empire by the Medes, in conjunction with the Babylonians, as well as to the conqueſts of the Greeks and Romans in Aſia; alluded to afterwards by Balaam, in his prophecy, that ſhips ſhould come from the coaſts of Chittim, and ſhould afflict Aſhur, and ſhould afflict Eber; that is, they ſhould afflict the Aſſyrians, and thoſe who dwelt beyond the river Euphrates (F). And at the ſame time that they dwelt in the tents of Shem, they made the

(E) Noah here alludes to the name of Japhet, the root of which ſignifies, 'to enlarge;' though others tranſlate the paſſage, GOD ſhall perſuade Japhet, *i. e.* bring him over in time to the true worſhip, figured by the tents of Shem.

(F) The common opinion is, that by Eber, in this place, is to be underſtood the Hebrews or Jews; but a learned author has offered reaſons which ſeem to prove the contrary. He obſerves, that to take it in that ſenſe is repugnant to the deſign of the paſſage, and makes Balaam bleſs and curſe the children of Iſrael in the ſame breath, by propheſying of their deſtruction: and therefore he will have it, that Eber has not reſpect to perſons, but to place, and ſignifies, 'beyond 'the river;' in which ſenſe that word is often uſed in Scripture. Upon this occaſion the ſame author propoſes to amend our tranſlation of the above text by reading it thus; "And they "ſhall go forth from the coaſt of "Chittim, and ſhall afflict Aſhur, and "ſhall afflict the other ſide of the ri-"ver," that is, the countries beyond Euphrates. There ſeems to be no need of ſuppoſing the laſt *and* to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the firſt, as that writer thinks; for Aſhur, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lay beyond the Tigris: neither in Balaam's time had the Aſſyrian empire extended itſelf weſtward ſo far as the Euphrates: and

the posterity of Ham their servants, by subduing the Babylonians, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, and other nations descended from that branch; wherein was the completion of the last part of Noah's prophecy.

This prophecy seems also to have regard to the state of the true religion, confining it to the race of Shem for a certain period of time, ending, perhaps, at the coming of the Messiah; for, since Christ, the knowledge of the true God hath spread considerably more among the descendants of Japhet, than it did before amongst those of Shem, having till then been confined almost wholly to the nation of the Jews; however, the Mohammedans rank Japhet himself among the prophets.

The Septuagint version, followed by Eusebius and others, mention an eight son of Japhet, named Elisa, who is neither in the Hebrew nor the Chaldee (G).

No particulars being mentioned in Scripture, with reference to the descendants of Japhet, farther than what relates to their founding of nations, we must refer the reader for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

Of Ham and his posterity.

That Ham was the youngest son Noah (H), though generally placed the second of three, is evident by his being expressly called the youngest: he may have been born within a few years after Shem; but as neither his age nor the time of his birth, are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from Ham's indiscretion, as well as wickedness, in discovering his father's nakedness, that, when he committed that crime, he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might, probably, be about 50 or 60; an age scarce equivalent in those days to eighteen now.

When

and when that prophecy was to be fulfilled, Ashur was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in subjection to Elam, or the Persians; as were also the Babylonians, and the inhabitants of Aram or Mesopotamia, who, we think, are to be understood by Eber, or the other side of the river, that is, the Euphrates.

(G) The Persian historians give Japhet eleven sons; *viz.* 1. Jin, Chin, or Sin; 2. Seklah; 3. Manshuj; 4. Gomari; 5. Turk (from whom this patriarch is firnamed Abu'l Turk, or the father of Turk). 6. Khalaj; 7. Khozar; 8. Rus; 9. Sussan; 10. Ghaz; and 11. Taraj. The Tartarian authors name but eight sons of Japhet, in this order; 1. Turk; 2. Khari [Khozar]; 3. Saklap; 4. Rus; 5. Maminakh; 6. Zwin [Jin]; 7. Kamari; 8. Tarikh. The former authors assert, that Japhet married his sons to their own sisters, before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the easier; and, indeed, it happened, that the eastern countries, and the greater part of the north, were first peopled.

(H) The Hebrew word חם *Ham*, signifies hot, or heat, or sunburnt. Though he is expressly said to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain that he was the second son of Noah;

and,

When Noah was acquainted with the irreverent action of Ham (I), he curſed him in a branch of his poſterity; "Curſed," ſays he, "be Canaan: "a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren." This curſe, if it be a curſe (K), being pronounced not againſt Ham, the immediate tranſgreſſor, but againſt his ſon, who does not appear, from the words of Moſes, to have been any way concerned in the crime, though ſome imagine he had a principal ſhare in it (L), hath occaſioned ſeveral conjectures: ſome have believed, that Noah curſed Canaan, becauſe he could not well have curſed Ham himſelf, whom God had not long before bleſſed; others, more reaſonably, think Moſes's chief intent in recording this prediction was to raiſe the ſpirits of the Iſraelites, then entering on a terrible war with the children of Canaan, by the aſſurance, that, in conſequence of the curſe, that people were deſtined by God to be ſubdued by them: for the opinion of thoſe who imagine all Ham's race were here accurſed, ſeems repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, which confines the malediction to Canaan and his poſterity, and alſo contrary to fact (M).

Among

and, to elude the force of the text, ſeveral of them pretend, that it is not Ham himſelf, but Canaan his ſon, who is here ſpoken of: others will have it, that Ham was called the younger, or the youngeſt, for no other reaſon but becauſe his conduct was leſs prudent than that of his brothers. But ſuch interpretations, if once admitted, will ſerve only to render the moſt clear expreſſions in Scripture obſcure.

(I) If we enquire by what means Noah came to know that it was Ham who had diſcovered his nakedneſs, ſome Rabbins anſwer, that he inferred ſo much from Ham's paſt ſhameleſs behaviour, in profaning the ark by lying with his wife. Others ſay, that Ham, by looking on his father's ſhame, found extraordinary alterations in himſelf; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips diſtorted; and he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark-naked, and walked about in that condition. Noah, ſeeing all this, from thence concluded, that it was Ham who had diſhonoured him. Some ſay, that he could not have known it otherwiſe than by revelation. St Chryſoſtom's opinion is very rational; he believes, that Noah, ſeeing himſelf covered with a garment which did not belong to him, aſked the occaſion of it, and learned from Shem and Japhet all that had paſſed.

(K) Mr Bayle does not take this paſſage properly to contain a curſe. He ſays, it is pretty ſtrange, that the Scripture takes no notice of any thing being done by Noah to Ham: he obſerves, that there is not one word of cenſure paſſed upon Ham; that the patriarch was content to curſe Canaan the ſon of Ham; and that this curſe was nothing elſe but a prophecy of the victories which the deſcendants of Shem ſhould obtain over the deſcendants of Canaan under Joſhua; that is to ſay, ſeven or eight ages after the crime of Ham had been committed.

(L) The Jews pretend, that Canaan was the perſon who firſt diſcovered the nakedneſs of Noah, with which he acquainted his father Ham, who made ſport of the accident, and went and told it to his brother Shem and Japhet; and that Noah, awaking out of his ſleep, curſed Canaan, becauſe he was the firſt occaſion of the ſcandal.

(M) A learned author hath affirm-

Among those who are for extending the curse to Ham, and his other race, some have supposed another effect of it, not mentioned by Moses; that Ham became a blackmoor, and communicated that colour to his descendants (N). But this opinion is a mere chimera, as hath been formerly observed.

In consequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers, that he had seen his father's nakedness, Ham has been looked upon as the first introducer of wickedness after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, some of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded solely upon this single passage. They have believed, seeing Ham could be guilty of so much indiscretion towards his father, that he was a reprobate who had committed all sorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he, and his posterity, were concerned in the building of Babel, which they consider as a very wicked attempt. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood (O), and the

ed, that there hath never yet been a son of Ham who hath shaken a sceptre over the head of Japhet; Shem hath subdued Japhet, and Japhet hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either. However, this must be a mistake, if there be any truth in what the Egyptian histories relate of the actions of Sesostris, and some others of their kings, who conquered the greatest part of Asia and Europe; and consequently Ham may be said to have subdued both. Besides, we find the Israelites were long the slaves of Mizraim, or the Egyptians; and we see no reason why the shameful submission which Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, made to Shishak the Egyptian Pharaoh, who, after taking all the strong cities of Judah, seems to have had Jerusalem delivered up to him without opposition, to be spoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a servitude; it being expressly said, the Jews should be his servants. Ham also appears to have encroached upon Shem very early; for he seems to have driven the Shemites out of their first seats in Shinaar; and every body knows, the Babylonians, who were Hamites, had a considerable share in the destruction of the Assyrian empire. But a stronger instance than any of the preceding is the Babylonish captivity, in which the Jews themselves were the sufferers. Nay, the very branch of Canaan seems to have had great success against Japhet, not only by the exploits of the Carthaginians (originally Canaanites) in Italy, but by their conquest of Spain.

(N) This opinion has been entertained by several Christians, as well as Mohammedans, though some of the latter account otherwise for mens different complexions. The Arab writers add, that Noah, relenting at the sudden change in his son, prayed to GOD that his posterity might be treated gently in their servitude; in consequence whereof the black slaves are not only in great request, but generally have great credit and power with their masters.

Some of the same authors pretend, that Noah's curse was inflicted on Ham for his disobedience, because he would not come to prayers one morning when his father called him.

(O) Several instances of this the reader will find hereafter.

the inventor of magic; and relate many paſſages to that effect (P). They pretend, that he ſet a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark (Q). Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime which he committed againſt his father was infinitely more enormous than it is repreſented in Scripture: ſome concluding that Ham caſtrated Noah (R); others, that he rendered him impotent, by virtue of ſome magic

(P) Ham is held to have been the inventor of magic, ſo far only as that it was he who preſerved, and taught it to the deſcendants of Noah; for it is allowed it was not Ham who firſt invented this art, but the angels, who, becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians. They ſay, that Ham, not daring to carry with him, into the ark, the books which treated of this ſubject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal, and hard ſtone, able to reſiſt the waters of the deluge; which treaſure he carefully hid, and, after quitting the ark, went and took them from the place where he had depoſited them. It is pretended, that Mizraim learned of his father Ham all thoſe abominable ſecrets; and that the pretenders to that ſcience conſidered Ham as their firſt founder, and to have been the ſame with Zoroaſtres, and honour him as a god. The firſt author of this opinion, ſeems to have been the counterfeit Clemens.

(Q) Though St Ambroſe and others conceive from the words of Moſes, that the matrimonial duty was ſuperſeded and ſuſpended during the time Noah and his family lived in the ark; nevertheleſs it is an opinion which has ſpread pretty much, that Ham did not obſerve continency on that occaſion, but that his wife brought forth Canaan in the very ark.

(R) Some Jewiſh doctors have aſſerted this; and pretend, that what prompted Ham to ſo violent an act, was to prevent Noah's having any more ſons; as if he feared his ſhare in the diviſion of the world would be too ſmall. Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very ſeriouſly, by theſe words of Scripture: "Noah awoke from his wine, and "knew what his younger ſon had "done unto him." If he had performed, ſay they, upon his father ſo painful an operation as that of caſtrating muſt have been, Noah would not have ſlept till he was ſober; but the anguiſh would quickly have awakened him, and he would have ſurpriſed the criminal in the very fact; nor would he have had any occaſion to have aſked who he was. From ſuch conceits as theſe ſome have drawn arguments to prove, that all the pagan gods were taken from the Jewiſh traditions. Thus they pretend, that Noah is the Saturn and the Uranus of the pagans; and that the ſtories which are told of Jupiter's caſtrating his father Saturn, and Chronus caſtrating his father Uranus, are borrowed from this notion of Ham.

Upon this occaſion we are tempted to introduce a paſſage out of the count de Gabalis. He ſuppoſes that Noah, after the deluge, gave up his wife Veſta to the ſalamander Oromaſis, prince of the fiery ſubſtances, and perſuaded his three children to reſign alſo their three wives to the princes of the three other elements. Ham, adds that author, rebelled againſt the counſel of Noah, and could not reſiſt the charms of his wife; but his want of complaiſance marked all his black poſterity; the frightful complexion of

magic charms (S); others again, that he committed inceſt with his father's wife (T); whilſt a fourth party accuſe him of all ſorts of uncleanneſs (U). This character is very conformable with what we meet with in

the inhabitants of the torrid zone is the puniſhment of the profane ardour of their father.—You believe, for inſtance, continues he, that the injury which Ham did his father, was the ſame as is literally expreſſed; but it was, indeed, a very different thing. Noah being come out of the ark, and ſeeing his wife Veſta's beauty rather improved by the familiarity which ſhe had with her gallant Oromaſis, his love for her returned upon him. Ham, fearing leſt his father might yet people the world with children blacker than his Ethiopians, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his doſe of wine, and caſtrated him without mercy. We leave the reader to judge which notion is moſt agreeable to Scripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the Jews, or this of the count de Gabalis.

(S) This imagination is taken from the ſpurious Beroſus: he ſays, that Noah, unable to bear the vicious courſes of Ham, who particularly addicted himſelf to magic, became odious to this ſon; and the rather, becauſe he ſhewed more tenderneſs for his other ſons, who were younger; and Ham, finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it ſlip: he graſped the genitals of his father, and muttered ſome words, which rendered him impotent for ever after.

(T) This is the ſentiment of Mr Von der Hart, profeſſor of the oriental languages in the univerſity of Helmſtad. He believes, that the injury which that patriarch received from Ham, conſiſted in the infamous temerity which this brutiſh ſon had, to ly either with his own mother, or at leaſt with his ſtep-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of Scripture, where the phraſe, to "uncover the ſhame of a woman," ſignifies to ly with her. In the ſame places of Scripture it is ſaid, that the nakedneſs or ſhame of a woman is the nakedneſs or ſhame of her huſband; and, by conſequence, according to this way of expreſſion, to have ſeen the nakedneſs of Noah, is a modeſt phraſe, importing to have had to do with Noah's wife. This author ſuppoſes, 1. That Ham watched his time for compaſſing his deſign, when Noah was aſleep, after his debauch. 2. That ſomebody, having diſcovered the affair, went and gave the other two ſons of Noah notice of it. 3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as faſt as they could; and, having ſurpriſed their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all they had ſeen. 5. That Noah, much enraged, ordered by his will, that Canaan, who was to be the iſſue of that inceſtuous commerce, ſhould be wholly deprived of the inheritance. Theſe hypotheſes, ſays Mr Bayle, are learned and ingenious; but if once it be ſuffered to ſuppoſe, that the narrations of Moſes are ſo diſguiſed, it may be feared, that the ſame liberty will be taken with the hiſtory of the temptation, and of the fall of Adam, as ſome have dared to do.

(U) The reaſon of Noah's diſcarding Ham ſeems not to have been ſo much on account of the perſonal injuries he had received from him, as his

in the antients concerning Cronus, with whom, among many others (X), Ham is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame.

If we may judge by the number of perſons in the three generations of Ham's line mentioned by Moſes, which exceeds the number of perſons deſcended from both his brothers in the ſame degree, he muſt have had the moſt numerous iſſue of the three ſons of Noah, and a greater part of the earth to his ſhare. But though much mention is made of the latter poſterity of Ham, in the ſucceeding part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, Moſes has recorded nothing relating to his firſt deſcendants, beſides their names, and ſome general circumſtances, excepting Canaan and Nimrod.

Of Canaan. Canaan (Y) was the fourth ſon of Ham, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name placed in Scripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned by Moſes: however, ſome will have it, that he was born in the ark; and that, becauſe he was the fruit of an unſeaſonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already obſerved, that the curſe given by Noah to Canaan was peculiar to this ſon of Ham, and does not ſeem to have extended to the reſt of his brethren. And, indeed, the prophecy of Noah, that Canaan ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren, ſeems to have been wholly completed in him. It was completed with regard to Shem, not only in that a conſiderable part of the ſeven nations of the Canaanites were made ſlaves to the Iſraelites, when they took poſſeſſion of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enſlaved by Solomon; but alſo by the ſubſequent expeditions of the Aſſyrians and Perſians, who were both deſcended from Shem; and under whom the Canaanites ſuffered ſubjection, as

his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it is pretended, not only taught, that men ſhould live as they did before the flood, and commit all ſorts of inceſts, and ſomething worſe; but practiſed thoſe abominable leſſons himſelf. We chuſe to expreſs them in the words of the author. *At verò cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, aſſerens et re ipſa exequens, congrediendum eſſe, ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, ſororibus, filiabus, maſculis, brutis, et quovis alio genere, ob hoc ejectus a Jano piiſſimo, et caſtimonia atque pudicitia refertiſſimo.*

(X) Marſham thinks Ham is to be found in profane hiſtory under the names Hammon, Thamus, Thammuz, Adonis, Oſiris, Baal, Belus, Jupiter, and Saturn the ſecond. The ſame author ſays, the Hebrew chronology requires, that Ham ſhould be the ſame with Menes, the firſt king of Egypt, whom almoſt all other authors make to be Mizraim, his ſecond ſon.

(Y) The Hebrew word is כנען, and not pronounced as we commonly do Canaan, making Ca the firſt ſyllable, but Chenaan, or rather Chnaan, the ſhevah joining the ch and n into one ſyllable, and ſo the Jews pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the Chna of Sanchoniatho and Stephanus: it ſignifies 'a 'merchant' or 'trader,' as the Canaanites or Phoenicians were.

as well as the Iſraelites: not to mention the conqueſt of part of Canaan by the Elamites, or Perſians, under Chedorlaomer, prior to them all. With regard to Japhet, we find a completion of the prophecy, in the ſucceſſive conqueſts of the Greeks and Romans in Paleſtine and Phoenicia, where the Canaanites were ſettled; but eſpecially in the total ſubverſion of the Carthaginian power by the Romans; beſides ſome invaſions of the northern nations, as the poſterity of Thogarma and Magog; wherein many of them, probably, were carried away captive.

It is believed, that Canaan lived and died (Z) in the country called after his name; where formerly they ſhewed his tomb, which was twenty-five foot long, in a cave of the mountain of the Leopards, not far from Jeruſalem.

Canaan ſeems to have been known to the antient heathens. Sanchoniatho expreſly ſays, Chna was the firſt Phoenician, or the firſt who was called a Phoenician. The Scripture mentions nothing particular, with reſpect to any of his ſons; but the tranſactions of the Iſraelites, with their deſcendants, make up a great part of the Jewiſh hiſtory; and will be treated of in their proper place.

Of Nimrod. Nimrod was the ſixth ſon of Cuſh (A), and, in all appearance, much younger than any of his brothers; for Moſes mentions the ſons of Raamah, his fourth brother, before he ſpeaks of him. What the ſacred hiſtorian ſays of him is ſhort; and yet he ſays more of him than of any other of the poſterity of Noah, till he comes to Abraham. He tells us, that Nimrod "began to be a mighty one in the earth;" that he was "a mighty "hunter before the Lord," even to a proverb; and that "the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinaar."

From this account a great idea hath been conceived of his ſtrength and valour. Some repreſent him as a giant (B); all conſider him as a great warrior. It is generally thought, that, by the words "a mighty hunter," is to be underſtood that he was a great tyrant; but ſome of the Rabbins interpret thoſe words favourably, ſaying, that Nimrod was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and ſtrength for the chace, and that he offered to God the game which he took; and ſeveral of the moderns are of opinion, that this paſſage is not to be underſtood of his tyrannical oppreſſions,

(Z) The Mohammedans are not uniform in their opinions concerning Canaan; ſome agreeing with the account given of him in Scripture; and others affirming, that he was born before the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge, as hath been already obſerved.

(A) Some Mohammedan authors confound the genealogies of the ſons of Noah at a ſtrange rate. One of them ſays, that Nimrod was the ſon of Canaan, and brother of Cuſh, whom the Perſians ſirname Fil dendam, that is, *the elephant's tooth.*

(B) The Hebrew word גבר *gibbor*, which our verſion renders 'a mighty 'one,' is by the Septuagint tranſlated, 'a giant.'

preſſions, or of hunting of men, but of beaſts (C). It muſt be owned, that the phraſe, "before the Lord," may be taken in a favourable ſenſe, and as a commendation of a perſon's good qualities; but in this place the generality of expoſitors underſtand it otherwiſe (D).

Hunting muſt have been one of the moſt uſeful employments in the times juſt after the diſperſion, when all countries were over-run with wild beaſts, of which it was neceſſary they ſhould be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing ſeemed more proper to procure a man eſteem and honour in thoſe ages, than his being an expert hunter, as Nimrod probably was. By that exerciſe, we are told, the antient Perſians fitted their kings for war and government; and hunting is ſtill, in many countries, conſidered as one part of a royal education.

There is nothing in the ſhort hiſtory of Nimrod which carries the leaſt air of reproach, except his name, which ſignifies a rebel (E); and that is the circumſtance which ſeems to have occaſioned the injurious opinions which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators, being prepoſſeſſed in general, that the curſe of Noah fell upon the poſterity of Ham, and finding this prince ſtigmatized by his name, have interpreted every paſſage relating to him to his diſadvantage. They repreſent him as a rebel againſt God, in perſuading the deſcendants of Noah to diſobey the divine command to diſperſe, and in ſetting them to build the tower of Babel, with an impious deſign of ſcaling Heaven (F). They brand him as an ambitious uſurper, and an inſolent oppreſſor; and make

(C) A writer of great authority in the eaſt has a ſingular notion, that Nimrod, by hunting, provided food for the builders of Babel.

(D) The phraſe, "before the "LORD," ſeems to be in itſelf perfectly indifferent, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in Scripture, where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore, inſtead of "before the Lord," St Auſtin will have it to be rendered 'againſt the 'Lord;' in which he is followed by ſeveral. The Jeruſalem targum, and that of Ben Uzziel, both take this character of Nimrod in an ill ſenſe.

(E) This name is generally derived from מָרַד *marad*, to *rebel*; but if a compoſition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology, and more agreeable to Nimrod's occupation, might be offered from נָמֵר *namer*, a leopard, which may by a metonymy denote wild beaſts in general, and רוד *radad*, 'to fell' or 'beat down,' or רוה *radah*, 'to ſubdue' or 'take.' The Arabs make Nemrud, the plural of which is Nemaredah, the ſame with *mared*, 'a rebel.' However, a certain Perſian author, who makes Nimrod the ſame with Cay Caus, a king of the ſecond dynaſty of Perſia, gives the name a Perſian derivation, as if it was Nemrud, that is, immortal; which appellation, he ſays, was given to him on account of his long reign of above 150 years. If the firſt of the three ſignifications be the right, the name muſt have been given him by his enemies, not by his ſubjects. The Greeks write the name Nembrod and Nembrodes.

(F) An Arab author ſays, that Nimrod

make him the author of the adoration of fire (G), of idolatrous worſhip given to men, and the firſt perſecutor on the ſcore of religion (H). On the other hand, ſome account him a virtuous prince, and ſo far from adviſing the building of Babel, that they ſay he left the country, and went into Aſſyria, becauſe he would not give his conſent to it (I).

Nimrod is generally thought to have been the firſt king after the flood (K); though ſome authors, ſuppoſing a plantation or diſperſion prior to that of Babel, have made kings in ſeveral countries before him. Mizraim is ſuppoſed

Nimrod built this tower, that he might aſcend to Heaven to ſee Abraham's God, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace into which that tyrant had caſt him. They worked at this building three years; and when Nimrod had got on the top of it, he wondered to ſee heaven as far from him as it was before; but his aſtoniſhment encreaſed, when this tower, and another, which had been built for the ſame purpoſe, were ſucceſſively overthrown. Still perſiſting in his deſign, he would be carried to Heaven in a cheſt, borne by four monſtruous birds: but after wandering for ſome time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with ſuch a force as made it ſhake; to which, as this author imagines, alludes that paſſage in the Koran, 'though the ſtratagems 'of the impious make the mountains 'tremble.'

Nimrod, by this diſappointment, finding he could not make war with God in perſon, inſtead of acknowledging his power, proceeded to perſecute thoſe who adored any beſides himſelf; but God, by dividing Nimrod's ſubjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued thoſe who continued to adhere to him, by a cloud of gnats, which deſtroyed almoſt all of them.

Another author adds, that one of thoſe gnats, having entered into the noſtril or ear of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where growing bigger every day, it gave him ſuch intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cauſe his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure ſome eaſe; and that he ſuffered this torture for the ſpace of four hundred years, God being willing to puniſh, by one of the ſmalleſt of his creatures, him who inſolently boaſted himſelf to be the lord of all.

(G) The orientals make Nimrod the author of the ſect of the Magi, or worſhippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally ſeeing fire riſe out of the earth, at a great diſtance from him, in the eaſt, he worſhipped it; and appointed one Andeſham to attend the fire there, and throw frankincenſe into it.

(H) The perſon perſecuted by Nimrod, according to ſeveral Jewiſh, Chriſtian, and Mohammedan authors, was Abraham, who, by the Hebrew chronology, might have been his contemporary.

(I) Jonathan Ben Uziel paraphraſes the paſſage thus; Nimrod, going out of that land, reigned in Aſſyria, becauſe he would not come into the meaſures of thoſe who were concerned in the diviſion: therefore God gave him another country, where he built four other cities, *viz.* Nineveh, Platiathkartha, Parioth, and Telaſar.

(K) The eaſtern writers make him not only the firſt king of Babel, but of

ſuppoſed by many, who contend for the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, to have begun his reign a good while earlier than Nimrod; and others, from the uniformity of the languages ſpoken in Aſſyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Canaan, affirm thoſe countries to have been peopled before the confuſion of tongues.

The four cities (L) Moſes gives to Nimrod, made a large kingdom in thoſe early times, when few kings had more than one: only it muſt be obſerved, that poſſeſſions might at firſt have been large, and afterwards divided into ſeveral parcels; and Nimrod being the leader of a nation, we may ſuppoſe his ſubjects ſettled within thoſe limits. Whether he became poſſeſſed of thoſe cities by conqueſt, or otherwiſe, does not appear: it is moſt probable he did not build Babel, all the poſterity of Noah ſeeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear, that he built the other three, though the founding of them, and many more,

all the world; and ſay he was the firſt who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had ſeen in the ſky: for being pleaſed with the appearance, he ſent immediately for an artiſt, and had a crown of gold caſt in the ſame form, which he put upon his head; from whence his ſubjects took occaſion to ſay, that it came down to him from heaven.

(L) We might be able to make ſome judgment concerning the extent of the firſt Babyloniſh kingdom, could we fix the ſituations of theſe four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long ſince deſtroyed, and authors differing ſo much in opinions about 'em. There are even two traditions, with regard to the ruins of Babel; ſome placing them at Felugia, a village on the Euphrates, about thirty-ſix miles to the South-weſt of Baghdad, on the Tigris; others, about the ſame diſtance from Felugia Southward, on the firſt of thoſe rivers: how much more uncertain then muſt be the ſituation of the reſt, which were towns not ſo famous, and whoſe ruins, if any remain, are ſeldom enquired after!

According to the Eaſtern authors, Erech, or Arach, is Hadas, or Edeſſa, called by the Syrians Urhoi, by the Arabs Roha, and by the inhabitants Orfa; Accad, or Akhar, as ſome write it, is Niſibin; and Calneh Calanne, or Calya, is Cteſiphon, or Medain: and, if they are not miſtaken, the diſtances of theſe cities from each other will give Nimrod's kingdom a great extent, as do ſome traditions concerning him. But the Aſiatics, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on, more than the Europeans. We are of opinion, the Babylonian kingdom, under Nimrod, was much more limited; and rather agree with thoſe who believe Erech to have been a city of Chaldea, which from thence took its preſent Arabic name of Erak. This ſeems to be the Arecca of Ptolemy, and Arecha of Marcellinus, who places it in Suſiana. Neither can Erec be Urhoi, or Eodeſſa, in the opinion of thoſe who hold Ur of the Chaldees and Urhoi to be the ſame: for Erec and Ur are diſtinguiſhed in Scripture as two different cities. Calne we admit to be Cteſiphon of Medain, nearer either of the aforeſaid ruins of Babel than is Baghdad; and, as for Accad, we may ſuppoſe it to

more, with other works, are attributed to him (M). It may ſeem alſo a little ſtrange, that Nimrod ſhould be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the moſt cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs or heads of nations, even of the branch of Ham. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not aſſume the title of king till after his father Cuſh's death, who might have been ſettled there before him (N), and left him the ſovereignty: but we encline to think, that he ſeized Shinaar from the deſcendants of Shem, driving out Aſhur, who from thence went and founded Nineveh, and other cities in Aſſyria.

The ſcripture does not inform us when Nimrod began his reign (O). Some date it before the diſperſion: but ſuch a conjecture does not ſeem to ſuit with the Moſaical hiſtory; for before the diſperſion we read of no city but Babel; nor could there be well more, while all mankind were yet in a body together; but when Nimrod aſſumed the regal title, there ſeem to have been other cities built, which ſhews it was a good while after the diſperſion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, and, in all likelihood, it ſhould be placed rather later than earlier.

Authors have taken a great deal of pains to find Nimrod in profane hiſtory: ſome have imagined him to be the ſame with Belus, the founder of the Babyloniſh empire; others, with Ninus, the founder of the Aſſyrian (P): ſome think him the ſame with Evechous, the firſt Chaldean king

have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long ſince ruined, and the memory of it loſt: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to ſuch dimenſions, as, in all probability, the firſt could not exceed.

(M) Abu'lfarag ſays, Nimrod built three of theſe cities, mentioned by Moſes, *viz.* Erech, Accad, and Calya, or Calne. Others aſcribe to him the building of Babel, Nineveh, Reſen, and ſeveral other cities, among which was Adherbijan, in the Perſian province of the ſame name. An Arab author mentions a city called Takharot, or Takharan Sar, where Nimrod coined money. Others write, that he dug ſeveral rivers in Erak, derived from Euphrates, of which that of Cutha, in the way from Babel to Cufah, was one.

(N) A Perſian author of great authority affirms, that Cuſh, or Cutha, was king of the territory of Babel, and reſided in Erak; and attributes to him the making of the river Cutha. Dr Hyde places the original ſeat of Cuſh in the ſame country, which he calls *the moſt antient Cuſh*; and ſays, that his poſterity removing into Arabia, it thence took the name of Cuſh alſo.

(O) The Arabs ſay, that Nimrod reigned in Al Sowad, that is, *the black country*; for ſo they call Irak Arabi, from the black tents of the Scenite Arabs ſcattered over the province. They ſuppoſe his father Cuſh reſided at Erac, in the province of Babel; though Babel is generally thought, by Chriſtian authors, to have been the regal ſeat of Nimrod.

(P) Many have confounded the Baby-

king after the deluge; and a fourth ſort perceive a great reſemblance between him and Bacchus, both in actions and name. Some of the Mohammedan writers ſuppoſe Nimrod to have been Zohak, a Perſian king of the firſt dynaſty: others, Cay Caus, the ſecond king of the ſecond race; and ſome of the Jews ſay he is the ſame with Amraphel, the king of Shinaar, in Moſes. But there is no certainty in theſe conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate ſucceſſors (Q).

The ſcripture mentions nothing as to the death of Nimrod; but authors have taken care, that ſuch an eſſential circumſtance in his hiſtory ſhould not be wanting. Some of the rabbins pretend he was ſlain by Eſau (R), whom they make his contemporary. There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of Babel, which was overthrown by tempeſtuous winds, while Nimrod was in it. Others ſay, that as he led an army againſt Abraham, God ſent a ſquadron of gnats, which deſtroyed moſt of them; and particularly Nimrod, whoſe brain was pierced by one of thoſe inſects.

Of Shem and his poſterity, to Abraham.

We now come to the hiſtory of Shem and his poſterity; which, for convenience, we have placed laſt, tho' he was the ſecond ſon of Noah by birth, and by prerogative the eldeſt, the right of primogeniture ſeeming to have been lodged in him.

The poſterity of Shem are twice recited by Moſes. In the firſt place, he only mentions the names of ſuch of his deſcendants as were concerned in the firſt diſperſions: in the other, he deduces the genealogy in the line of Arphaxad down to Abraham. But the ſacred writer having been more

Babylonian and the Aſſyrian empire together, by miſtaking the ſenſe of the text, as if both of them had been founded by Nimrod; but this point will be diſcuſſed hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the foundation of the Aſſyrian empire.

(Q) Some Chriſtian and Mohammedan hiſtorians call the moſt antient kings of the Babylonians, who ſucceeded Nimrod, Nimaredah, that is, Nimrods. Some of the latter ſay, he reigned in Al Sowad 400 years; and that he was ſucceeded by a prince of the ſame family, called Nubat Ebn Koud, who ruled 100 years: and ſome of the former tell us, that Bokhtanſer (or rather Bakht Naſr, which is the name the orientals give to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon) was of his race.

(R) They tell the following ſtory as the occaſion of this accident; that the coat which GOD made Adam, was with his body in the ark; and that when Noah and his ſons quitted that veſſel, Ham took it; by which means it afterwards fell to Nimrod, who putting it on, all kinds of beaſts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in ſtrength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is ſaid to be *a mighty hunter before the* LORD. Eſau, ſeeing the coat upon Nimrod, conceived ſo ſtrong a deſire for it, that he ſlew him, and ſtripped him of it.

more brief in the hiſtory of theſe patriarchs, than in that of the branch of Ham, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their ſons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more); for the reſt we muſt have recourſe to the traditions and conjectures of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers, where we ſhall not want for matter.

Shem was born ninety-eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of Arphaxad, he was one hundred years old. We ſhall have given the reader all that is to be found in ſcripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he aſſiſted his brother Japhet in covering the nakedneſs of their father, and ſhared in his bleſſing for ſo doing: "Bleſſed be the God of Shem," ſaid Noah, "and Canaan ſhall be his ſervant."

It hath already been obſerved in what manner this prophecy was accompliſhed: but there is one thing peculiar in theſe words of Noah, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he bleſſeth the God of Shem, and ſays nothing of that kind with regard to Japhet: by which circumſtance is plainly intimated, that the knowledge and worſhip of the true God was to be found in the branch of Shem; and that, though Japhet himſelf did at that time believe in the true God, yet his poſterity ſhould quickly fall away from the faith, and worſhip ſuch gods as did not deſerve to be bleſſed; and therefore Noah, who foreſaw what would happen, ſuppreſſed that ſhort doxology, in giving his bleſſing to Japhet. However, this prophecy ſeems to have no farther proſpect, than till the coming of the Meſſiah in the line of Shem, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for, ſince that time, moſt of Japhet's poſterity have received the knowledge of the true God.

The Jews ſuppoſe the tradition of theological truths to have paſſed from Noah to Shem, who communicated them to his children; by which means the true religion was preſerved in the world. The rabbins pretend, that Shem was intruſted with the will of Noah, whereby he divided the earth among his three ſons; that he went to ſchool to Methuſelah for threeſcore and eighteen years, and kept one himſelf, after the deluge, upon mount Tabor, where he taught morality; that he inſtructed Abraham in the ceremonies relating to ſacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards obſerved. They ſay farther, that God gave him the ſpirit of prophecy an hundred years after the flood, and that he diſcharged the function of a prophet for the ſpace of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribute alſo to him the invention of aſtronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years, and of intercalating the former, having learned theſe ſecrets from Noah. Thoſe who confound Shem with Melchizedek (S) aſcribe to him the cix Pſalm, and a treatiſe of

(S) The Jews, followed by many Chriſtian authors, antient and modern,

phyſic (T). Some make him to have been the firſt king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth known to the antients (U).

The eaſtern writers ſay, that Shem, in purſuance of the directions of Adam and Noah, together with Melchizedek, the ſon of Phaleg, took Adam's body out of the ark; and, being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount Calvary, where they buried it: after which Shem, conſtituting Melchizedek the prieſt of God, left him behind to attend at the ſepulchre; and pretended, on his return, that he died by the way, and was buried. Some ſay, Shem interred there no more than the ſkull of Adam, which had been given him by Noah.

Thoſe who ſeek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the Moſaic hiſtory, are greatly at a loſs to find among the gods, or heroes, one, who, in name or character, hath any reſemblance to Shem; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous ſhift of making him the god of hell (X).

Shem, having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600: He left five ſons, Elam, Aſhur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. The more moderate

dern, are of this opinion; which has nothing to countenance it in Scripture: nor is it likely ſo eminent a patriarch would diveſt himſelf, as it were, of the ſovereignty which he held over his own branch, to ſettle in Canaan, and become a petty prince within the dominions of another, who was to be his ſervant, namely Ham. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by looking on the tradition of the Jews, as of ſome authority. Yet it is ſince the time of Joſephus, who ſpeaks of Melchizedek only as a Canaanitiſh king, that they have made him the ſame with Shem; which ſeems to have been a notion altogether unknown to St Paul. The oriental Chriſtians make Melchizedek the ſon of Phaleg; for the Septuagint chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the ſame with Shem. A learned Syrian author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the Jews, will have Melchizedek to be the ſon of the laſt-mentioned patriarch.

(T) The Hebrew manuſcript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the elector of Bavaria's library.

(U) Theſe three cities are; Sebta, (or Ceuta), a maritime town in Africa on the coaſt of Barbary, Salernum in Italy, and Salem in Judea. Others ſay, he only laid the foundation of this laſt, ſuppoſing it to be Jeruſalem.

(X) As thoſe authors who fancy a reſemblance between Saturn and Noah, have, on account of the ſimilitude of names, made Ham Jupiter, and Japhet Neptune, Shem muſt of conſequence be Pluto. But ſuch an hypotheſis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another, which ſuppoſes him to be Typhon: we ſhould have been glad therefore to have known what reaſons Calmet had to believe, that profane hiſtorians intend Shem by Typhon, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or maleficent deity; and, indeed, was had in great deteſtation by the Egyptians, as a monſter of wickedneſs; having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother Oſiris.

moderate Persian historians, say their first king, Cayumarras, was a son of Shem; meaning, probably, Elam, whom Moses makes the founder of that nation.

The scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of Shem except Ashur; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the Assyrian kingdom.

This remarkable fact is related by Moses, in these words; "Out of "that land [namely, Shinaar] went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh, "and the city Rhoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and "Calah: the same is a great city." We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered, according to the marginal reading of our translation, "He went out into Assyria;" as if Nimrod was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. As to the epoch of this Assyrian kingdom, we suppose it might have been founded about the same time with that of Babel; that is, 30 years after the dispersion.

As to the situation of the cities built by Ashur, in order to determine the extent of this first Assyrian kingdom, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of Babel. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that, as the number of cities of which each monarchy consisted was equal, so it is probable their dimensions were much the same; and that the other three cities lay at no great distance from Nineveh, whose situation has been, in some measure, preserved by tradition (Y).

(Y) Nineveh is supposed to have stood on the East side of the Dijlat, or Tygris, opposite to Mosul, at least the tradition of the country will have it so: but there are no ruins to be seen there, as there are at old Babel: though a certain traveller pretends to have discovered, and thoroughly viewed some remains; by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long square, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which, at eight furlongs to an Italian mile, make threescore miles in compass.

The city Rehoboth is by many supposed to be Reheboth, on the Euphrates, the same, probably with that called *Rahabat Malek*, not many miles below the place where the Khabur falls into the Euphrates; and Resen to be the Resania of the antients, in Mesopotamia, still in being, and called *Ras alain*, that is, 'the head of the fountain,' on account of the many springs rising thereabout; and, among the rest, that of the Khabur: it is also called *Ain Wardah*. But others endeavour to find Rehoboth and Resen nearer Nineveh; and object, that they cannot be Rahabat and Ras Alain, because these last are not in Assyria, which lyes to the East of Tigris. They suppose, that Rehoboth is the same with the Birtha of Ptolemy, or Virtha of Ammianus Marcellinus, situate at the mouth of the river Lycus; from which the present ruins of Nineveh are not many miles distant to the North: and the reason they give is, because Birtha signifies in the Chaldee, the same which Rehoboth does in the Hebrew;

Arphaxad, or, as the Maſoretes read the name, Arpachſhad, the third ſon of Shem, had one advantage above the reſt of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the Chaſdim, or Chaldeans, from Arphaxad (Z); which opinion ſeems more reaſonable than that which makes Cheſed, the ſon of Nahor, Abraham's brother, to be the founder of them; though

Hebrew; that is, *ſtreets*. And, as a confirmation, that theſe names are the ſame, Ptolemy alſo places a Birtha on the Euphrates, about the place where we have ſuppoſed the other Rehoboth to have ſtood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the Khabur and Euphrates, inſtead of below it, lay any good objection in the way; ſince Ptolemy is full of ſuch faults. It may rather be objected, that Moſes ſeems to have given all the cities he mentions, the names they went by in the country where they ſtood, as near as the Hebrew orthography would allow: but, in ſuch doubtful caſes, we muſt always make allowances; ſo that Birtha, or Virtha, may ſtand for Rehoboth; ſince we cannot find a more likely place.

Calah, the next city, is ſuppoſed to be the Calach, ſituate about the ſprings of the river Lycus, mentioned by Strabo, as the capital of a province called Calachene, which ſeems to be the ſame with Ptolemy's Calacine, above Adiabene, towards mount Niphates. Bochart thinks it is the ſame with Halah, whither the Iſraelites were carried captives; the *heth* being ſometimes changed into the *kaph*; of which that author produces ſome inſtances.

Could we be ſure of being right as to the ſituation of Calah, that of Reſen would be found of courſe; for Moſes ſays it lay between it and Nineveh; which is enough for our purpoſe, without ſuppoſing it to be the Lariſſa of Xenophon, according to whoſe deſcription it was a great city, as Reſen is likewiſe ſaid to have been. The difference of the names may eaſily be accounted for, from the uſage of the Greeks, who either could not or would not write exotic names properly. But we muſt own Lariſſa ſeems to ly too much out of the way to be Reſen; for it ſtood on the Tigris, to the ſouth of Nineveh; whereas it ſhould rather have been ſituate to the Northward of that city, and at a diſtance from the river, to ly in the way between Nineveh and Calah. We may, however, ſuppoſe Reſen to have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of thoſe other two, long ſince deſtroyed.

(Z) Some Rabbins are of this opinion. And, if the authority of Joſephus be of any weight, he affirms the ſame: 'Arphaxad, ſays he, gave 'name to the Arphaxadaens, at pre-'ſent called Chaldeans; whoſe prince 'he was.' He certainly does not mean, as Dr Wells obſerves, that the name *Chaldeans* is derived directly from the name *Arphaxad;* but perhaps he meant, that the true name *Chaſdim* is derived thence; that is to ſay, from כשׂד, the three laſt letters of Arpachſhad: and from Chaſdim, the Greeks have made Chaldaei inſtead of Chaſdaei, by changing the *ſ* into *l*. And this opinion is more probable, becauſe the Chaldeans were not only called Khaſdim before Cheſed was born, but appear to have been a nation when Abraham came

out

though possibly the Chasdim had another original; for nothing is mentioned in scripture concerning it. Some Mohammedan authors make Arphaxad both a prophet and an apostle, and lodge the chief sovereignty over the nations of the world in his descendants (A). Arphaxad was born in the hundredth year of his father, two years after the flood; and having begat the succeeding patriarch in the 35th year of his age, died, after he had lived, in all, 438 years; which is the sum of what the scripture relates concerning him; though writers have added several conjectures of their own (B).

Who this son so begotten by Arphaxad was, has occasioned no small dispute among the learned. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan, Sa-

of Ur of the Chasdim; at which time Cheſed was neither old, nor considerable enough, to have built towns and founded a nation. And this argument is so cogent, that Bocchart, and others, at the same time that they treat this etymology as a chimera, are obliged to fly to the common subterfuge on this occasion, and say, that the city of Ur is called Ur of the Chaldees by a prolepsis; which will hardly serve in this case, for the reasons already alledged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point; nor will it be repugnant to Scripture, to deny the derivation of the name of Chasdim, either from Arphaxad or Cheſed.

Some compound Arphaxad's name of רפא בשׂד, *rafa Khashed;* that is, the healer, or prelate of Chaldea; supposing it to have been given to Cainan as a name of dignity.

(A) According to a curious, though fabulous Mohammedan tradition, ascribed to Ebn Abbas, Shem, being called by Noah at day-break, to assist at morning-prayer, arose, and awakened his children; of whom only Arphaxad got up, and attended his father to Noah, who gave them his benediction, and prayed for them: whereupon God revealed to him, that the gift of prophecy, together with the apostleship, should be granted to the children of Shem, and, in an especial manner, to the family of Arphaxad his eldest son: which gift should neither be taken from them nor transferred to any other: and that the same family should also enjoy the prerogative of sovereignty and empire over the other nations, which should be divided successively between the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs, to the end of the world.

(B) A certain author makes him one of the Rephaim (in consequence of the etymology he has given of his name), supposing them to have been believers, and sent by Noah, to recal mankind to the worship of God; wherefore they were named Rephaim; that is, healers and restorers, to wit, of souls. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that Cainan, or Arphaxad (whom he makes to be the same), was the founder of the empire of China; that the sect of the Bonzes was introduced into Japan by him, or his disciples; and that the Brachmans took their rise in Chaldea, soon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of Etham (whither he was sent with a colony by Noah), about the year of the deluge 68; the chief of which colony was called *Yareha;* which, in the Hebrew, is *Rapha;* that is, a curator or healer.

lah was his ſon; but, in the Septuagint verſion, we find Cainan put in between the two, as the ſon of the firſt, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of ſucceſſion, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the Septuagint to exceed the Samaritan by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for Cainan to have begotten his ſon. Thoſe who adhere to the Septuagint, draw their chief argument from St. Luke's mentioning Cainan in his genealogy of Chriſt, which has been already anſwered. However, the Septuagint verſion having been received over a great part of the Chriſtian world, Cainan paſſeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations in many countries; and there are more traditions concerning him (C), than of Salah, the true ſon and ſucceſſor of Arphaxad.

Salah is the only patriarch concerning whom the Chriſtian writers have obſerved an equal ſilence with Moſes. He hath been thought by ſome to be the ſame with the prophet Saleh, ſent to preach the true religion to the tribe of Thamud, in Arabia Petraea; but this perſon appears to have been much later than the patriarch.

It is the general opinion, that the Hebrews derive their name from the patriarch Eber, the ſon of Salah; and many of the Jews (as well as Chriſtians) attribute to him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation. But there is much more appearance, that the name of Hebrews was given to Abraham and his deſcendants, on account of his paſſing over the rivers in his way from Irak, or Chaldea, into Syria; ſo that a Hebrew ſhould ſignify nothing elſe, in the original ſenſe of the word, than a man from beyond the Euphrates.

In conſequence of the ſame opinion, it has been commonly believed by the ancients, as well as moderns, that the Hebrew language alſo took its name from Eber; and that, at the confuſion of tongues, it remained ſolely in the family of that patriarch, and his deſcendants (D). But as the firſt part of this aſſertion hath no better grounds than the former opinion,

(C) Beſides the particulars already mentioned, it is ſaid, Cainan was the firſt after the flood who invented Aſtronomy, and that his ſons made a god of him, and worſhipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of Harran in Meſopotamia is alſo attributed to him; which, it is pretended, he ſo called from a ſon he had of that name.

(D) The confuſion of tongues having been conſidered as a puniſhment of the temerity of thoſe who undertook to build Babel; many authors, poſſeſſed with high ſentiments of Eber, have preſumed, that the poſterity of that patriarch, who was deſtined by GOD to be the ſtock of the holy people, and the depoſitory of the true religion, had no ſhare in that enterprize, nor, conſequently, in the puniſhment which attended it. But if Eber's children were not concerned in it, it muſt have been becauſe none of them were grown up to an age capable of aſſiſting in that work; the diſperſion having happened at the birth of Peleg, who is by many ſuppoſed to have been Eber's eldeſt ſon. For it ſeems to be inconteſtable, that

pinion, ſo the latter is falſe in fact, the Hebrew language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of Eber; as the Phoenicians, or Canaanites, who, in the time of Abraham, ſpoke Hebrew, or a language differing very little from it.

The building of Babel is referred to the time of Eber, juſt before the birth of his ſon Peleg, in the 34th year of his age, and of the flood 101, according to the Hebrew calculation. But ſome of the rabbins, and Chriſtian fathers, who refer that event to a ſubſequent part of Peleg's life, ſay, Eber gave him that name prophetically, to denote a diviſion of the earth, which was to happen ſome time after; and, accordingly, reckon Eber a prophet, chiefly upon that account. Till this time, all mankind lived in a body together, and ſpoke one language; but God, being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their ſpeech, and diſperſed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the firſt was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole tranſaction relating to the building of Babel, and the diſperſion of mankind, muſt hereafter be the ſubject of different ſections.

The original of idolatry, by image-worſhip, is, by many, attributed to the age of Eber (E), though moſt of the Fathers place it no higher than that of Serug; which ſeems to be the more probable opinion, conſidering that, for the firſt hundred and thirty-four years of Eber's life, all mankind dwelt in a body together; during which time it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe idolatry broke in upon them; then ſome time muſt be allowed, after the diſperſion, for the ſeveral nations, which were but ſmall at the beginning, to encreaſe, and ſettle themſelves: ſo that if idolatry was introduced in Eber's time, it muſt have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed ſo univerſally, and with that obſtinacy, which is imagined by authors. However, the Arabs have a tradition that Hud, who is generally ſuppoſed to have been the ſame perſon with Eber, was ſent to preach to one of their antient tribes, named Ad, who had corrupted themſelves with the worſhip of idols, and were afterwards almoſt totally deſtroyed for not hearkening to him. They alſo ſay, he ended his days in the province of Hadramaut, where they ſtill

all the deſcendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were concerned in that building. However, it is plain, Eber's poſterity ſhared in the puniſhment, for their language was divided; witneſs the difference between the Arabic (the language of Joktan's poſterity) and the Hebrew; not to mention the Chaldee.

(E) Dr. Hyde thinks idolatry may, by numerous arguments, be proved to have begun as high as the times of Eber and Salah, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous Arab tribes of Ad and Thamud. But we have already obſerved, that the apoſtle of the Thamudites was much later than the patriarch Salah; and the miſſion of Eber is not an authority to build upon.

ſtill pretend to ſhew his ſepulchre, near Merbat, and within two miles of Haſec, a port on the Indian ſea: there is a ſmall town built about it, which is now called *Kabr Hud*, or the ſepulchre of Hud.

Eber is ſuppoſed, by many, to have built Hebron in Canaan, and Tanis in Egypt: but thoſe are groundleſs imaginations. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his ſon Peleg: and, indeed, if we can ſuppoſe there was ever ſuch a pacific and innocent ſtate on this ſide the flood, it is moſt likely to have been in the days of Noah and his three ſons, that is, during the time their poſterity continued in their firſt habitation, before their removal to Shinaar, and a while after the diſperſion, which, probably, gave it a ſhort interruption.

Eber had two ſons, Peleg and Joktan; Peleg was born juſt after the diſperſion happened, on which occaſion that name (F) was given him. Venerable Bede affirms, that temples were firſt built in his days; and that ſeveral of the chiefs of nations were worſhipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch, we are told, that contention aroſe between his ſons and thoſe of his brother Joktan; whereupon men began to build caſtles for their defence.

The ſcripture mentions only one ſon of Peleg's, beſides which, the orientals have given him another, mentioned in ſcripture, though not as Peleg's ſon; namely, Melchizedek. They ſay, he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother, which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the Jews, who make him to be the ſame with Shem. Of this perſon we have already related ſome particulars, and may have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

Joktan is generally ſuppoſed to have been Peleg's elder brother, upon a preſumption, that he and his thirteen ſons were leaders of colonies, at the diſperſion of Babel. They are, indeed, mentioned at the ſame time with the other heads of nations; and are, doubtleſs, to be included amongſt thoſe by whom, it is ſaid, the nations were divided in the earth after the flood: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they muſt have been leaders in that firſt diſperſion, in caſe their ages would allow it. Beſides, by that means, we ſhould not only poſtpone the time of that tranſaction, which ſeems to be neceſſarily connected with the birth of Peleg, but introduce five generations in the line of Shem as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the deſcendants of Ham and Japhet; and therefore we have reſerved them for a ſecond remove, or plantation.

The ſcripture gives to Joktan thirteen ſons; whereas the Arabs, who derive their original from Joktan, or, as they more uſually call him, *Kahtan*,

(F) The name פלג Peleg, or Phaleg, ſignifies *diviſion*. The diviſion of the earth, and diſperſion of mankind, was, doubtleſs, the ſame tranſaction; though ſeveral authors make two of them, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

tan, aſſign him one and thirty by the ſame mother, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia (G), went and ſettled in India. Yarab, the elder of the two who ſtayed, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the Arabic language, which he firſt ſpoke. Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, which contained part of Arabia Petraea, and other territories.

We find little ſaid concerning the three ſucceeding partiarchs, Reu Serug, and Nahor: however ſome authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (H); the invention of ſeveral arts (I); the ſpreading of idolatry (K); and ſome other particulars, of leſs moment (L); to their times.

Terah,

(G) D'Herbelot mentions four other ſons of Kahtan, namely, Hadramaut (the ſame with Hazarmaveth), Seba, Oſir, and Khawilha, or Haviſah.

(H) The building of Babel is, by ſome, placed in the ſeventieth year of Reu, and the beginning of Nimrod's reign in his hundred and thirtieth. About the ſame time, others fix the founding of the kingdom of Egypt, and the city of Memphis by Mizraim; of the city of Saba, in Arabia Felix, by a certain queen; of the kingdom of Bohemia, and its metropolis Prague, and of the kingdom of the Amazons: but theſe laſt are idle imaginations of the Jews. With more probability, though, perhaps, equal foundation, others attribute the building of Rages, in Media, to Rue himſelf; as that of Saruj, the capital of Diyar Modar, might be to his ſon Serug, who is ſuppoſed to have dwelt in the place where that city now ſtands. In Nahor's time, we are told, that Armunes, a king of Cannaan, built Sodom and Gomorrah, and Zoar; to the two firſt of which he gave the names of his two ſons, and to the laſt that of their mother.

(I) It is pretended, that the firſt mint for coining, and the firſt foundery for gold and ſilver ornaments, were erected in the days of Reu. Others attribute this invention to Terah; as that of coining gold and ſilver is aſcribed to Serug. Weights and meaſures are ſaid to have been invented by Samirus king of the Chaldeans, in the days of the ſame patriarch, though the uſe of them ſeems not to have been inſtituted till Nahor's time. The art of weaving ſilks, and of dying, is alſo attribnted to the ſaid king.

(K) Though the generality of authors, and particularly, of the Fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of Serug, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the introducer of it, erroneouſly making him (if he be not a different perſon from the patriarch) of the race of Japhet; yet others make it more early: and it is ſaid, that, in Reu's days, mankind was fallen into various kinds of falſe worſhip; ſome adoring the heaven, others the celeſtial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceaſed friends. About the ſame time, alſo, the cuſtom of mens ſacrificing their children to devils is pretended to have been introduced on the following occaſion: A certain rich man dying, his ſon made a golden ſtatue in repreſentation of him, and placed it on his tomb, ſetting a ſervant to watch it. Some time

after,

Terah, the ſon of Nahor, was the father of Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew or Jewiſh nation. The ſcripture informs us, that Terah, after the ſeventieth year of his age, begat three ſons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. But of theſe ſons, Haran only, who was the eldeſt, at leaſt much older than Abram, was born in that year; and the other two, probably, much later, and, as is ſuppoſed, by a different mother. Haran died in his native country, in Ur of the Chaldees (M), before his father, leaving a ſon

after, the ſon was robbed of all he had, and coming to make his complaints at his father's ſepulchre, the devil ſpoke out of the image, and promiſed to reſtore him all he had loſt, if he would offer his youngeſt ſon as a ſacrifice to him, and bathe himſelf in his warm blood; which he did, and, thereupon, the devil, coming out of the image, entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But, at length, this practice of human ſacrifices growing frequent, GOD ſent a violent earthquake, the firſt of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples. The riſe of the Sabian religion, is, by ſome, referred to the age of Nahor.

(L) The oriental authors mention a king called Karun, who reigned in the days of Reu, but ſay not where. They pretend, he was a famous chymiſt, and built a city called Ukiſh, or Ukinin, with bricks of gold. But this ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom the Mohammedans make coeval with Moſes, and the Korah of the Scriptures. We are alſo told, that in the time of Serug, a king of Egypt, called *Aſifanus*, built a ſhip, and invaded the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt; and that he was ſucceeded by Pharoah, the ſon of Sanes, from whom the Pharoahs were denominated: that the giants began to increaſe in Nahor's time; of whom one was Ad, a famous king of the Arabs; and another Helen, who aſſiſted at the building of the tower of Babel, and was worſhipped by the Greeks: and that the troubles of Job happened in the twenty-fifth year of the laſt mentioned patriarch.

(M) Several writers taking Ur, which ſignifies fire, for an appellative, pretend, that Haran was burnt: ſome ſaying, that, that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of Terah out of the fire, into which Abraham had thrown them. Others, as he attempted to quench the fires of an idol-temple which Abraham had ſet on fire. A third party ſay, that Abraham being thrown by Nimrod into a burning furnace, Haran was intent upon the event, reſolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and, ſeeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon Nimrod's demanding whom he believed in, Haran replied, in the GOD of Abraham: whereupon he was caſt into the furnace, and died in the preſence of his father, as the rabbins expreſs what our tranſlation renders *before his father*. It is ſaid, the fire had power over him, becauſe his faith was not ſo ſtrong as Abraham's, nor was he deſtined to ſo great things. Epiphanius ſays, that Terah's ſurviving Haran, was a puniſhment for his daring to make images of clay; and that, before him, no father had ſeen his children die a natural death. Joſephus affirms, that Haran's ſepulchre was to be ſeen at Ur, in his time.

ſon named Lot, and two daughters, one named Milcah, the other Iſcah. Nahor married Milcah, his niece, and Abram Sarai, his half-ſiſter.

Terah, who is generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom the Aſiatics call Azer (N), is, on all hands, allowed to have been an idolater: nor can this be denied, ſince he is expreſly ſaid, in ſcripture, to have ſerv'd other gods. The eaſtern authors unanimouſly agree, that he was a ſtatuary, or a carver of idols: and he is repreſented as the firſt who made images of clay, pictures only having been in uſe before; and taught that they were to be adored as gods. However, we are told, his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (O); that, at length, he was converted, by the earneſt perſuaſions of Abraham (P), and prevailed upon

(N) Some of the Mohammedan authors write, that Azer was the father of Abraham, and ſon of Terah; and D'Herbelot ſays, that the Arabs always diſtinguiſh them in their genealogies as two different perſons; but that becauſe Abraham was the ſon of Terah, according to Moſes, it is therefore ſuppoſed [by European writers], that he is the ſame with the Azer of the Arabs. How true this obſervation may be, in relation to ſome authors, we cannot ſay; but we are ſure it cannot be true of all: for ſeveral Arab and Turkiſh writers expreſly make Azer and Terah the ſame perſon. Azer, in antient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was ſo called by the moſt antient Perſians: for the word originally ſignifying fire (as it ſtill does), it was therefore given by them, and the Chaldeans, to that planet; which partaking, as was ſuppoſed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged, by the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians, as a god, or planetary diety, whom they antiently worſhipped unthe form of a pillar: whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who eſteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods; and is found in the compoſition of ſeveral Babyloniſh names. For theſe reaſons, a learned author ſuppoſes Azer to be the heathen name of Terah; and that the other was given him on his converſion.

(O) The eaſtern authors ſay, Azer was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whoſe ſon-in-law he was, becauſe he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This employment was very honourable among the Chaldeans, the perſon who followed it being conſidered as the maker of gods: for it required profound ſkill in aſtrology to chuſe the proper materials, and fix the proper time, for that work; every kind of wood, as well as ſtones and metal, being by the Chaldeans dedicated to its pecular planet, of whoſe influence it was thereby believed to participate, more than any other: and an idol thus formed, under a happy poſition of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to ſuch a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared, and made according to art. Some of the rabbins ſay, Terah was a prieſt, and the chief of them.

(P) Mohammedan authors relate, that Abraham often adviſed his father to forſake the worſhip of images, aſking how he could worſhip that which neither heard, nor ſaw, nor did him any good: that this often offending Terah, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that at length

upon to leave Ur. Joſephus ſays, he quitted Chaldea, being not able to endure the country, after the loſs of his ſon Haran. Some would have it, that he did not become an idolater till he was ſettled at Haran, which is abſurd: and others ſay, he never was converted, any more than his ſon Nahor, who afterwards left Ur, to join his father at Haran; which ſeems, from him, to be called the city of Nahor: but there is more probability, that both Nahor and Haran were converted; ſeeing Lot was bred in the true religion, and Abraham choſe Iſaac a wife out of the family of Nahor, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of Canaan. Wherefore a learned author ſuppoſes Nahor and Haran to have been the names given to thoſe two brothers at the time of their converſion.

However Terah, towards the latter part of his life, deſigning to remove from Chaldea into the land of Canaan, took his ſon Abram, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, and his grandſon Lot; and, leaving Ur, came to Haran, a city in the north-weſt parts of Meſopotamia; where having dwelt for ſome time, he died, being two hundred and five years old.

Thus have we collected, in the beſt method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the poſtdiluvian patriarchs.

SECT. III.

Of the removal of mankind from about mount Ararat to the plain of Shinaar, and of the building of Babel.

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of Babel by the poſterity of Noah, the confuſion of languages, and the diſperſion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader ſome account of thoſe important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtleſs of great benefit to mankind.

The firſt migration of the ſons of Noah to Shinaar.

After the death of Noah, his ſons Shem, Ham, and Japhet, thought fit to remove with their families from the plains near Ararat, where we ſuppoſe they till then continued, and travelling from the eaſt, found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and dwelt there. The wording of this paſſage has occaſioned ſome doubt, whether

length Abraham got the better of his father's obſtinacy, refuſing to pray for him until he promiſed to become a convert: for while he was an enemy to GOD, he was an enemy, alſo, to Abraham. The Jews ſay, he repented; and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his ſon Abraham, that the chain of the oral law deſcended from Adam to him, and thence to his ſon Abraham. There is ſome ground to think Terah was converted by Abraham's perſuaſions, becauſe he travelled with him from Ur to Haran, in order to go into Canaan.

whether by Ararat could be meant Armenia, since then their journeying would have been from the north-west. Wherefore others, instead of *from the east*, render it *eastward*. But there is no need to strain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. Moses spoke according to the best of his knowledge, or, perhaps, with reference to the wilderness where he wrote, from which Shinaar lying eastward, he might judge Ararat lay eastward too, as lying further off: or the difficulty may be easily solved, by supposing, with Kircher and others, that, as mankind multiplied, they spread themselves in the country south-eastward of Ararat, and made small removes between the time of their descending from Ararat, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have moved towards Shinaar, which might have lain westward of that place. But, after all, the mistake seems to ly on the side of the critics, and not of Moses; for even the mountain which at present passes with us for Ararat, lyes above two degrees more east than the city of Shinaar, or Senjar, from whence the plain in all probability took the name: and if the sons of Noah entered Shinaar on the north side, they must of necessity have journeyed from the east, or, which is the same thing, have travelled westward, in order to arrive there; though at the same time they must have travelled southward too, for Ararat lyes about north-east by north of Senjar; but all the geographers (*De Lisle* excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place, to the westward, the commentators and historians, who relied upon them, have been embarassed to reconcile the words of scripture with what they took for certain fact; *viz.* that Ararat lay to the westward, and not at all to the eastward of Senjar.

The extent and situation of the land of Shinaar.

It is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of Shinaar (Q), in the early times. We are informed from scripture, that the city and tower of Babel were built in a plain within that province, and that Nebuchadnezzar carried the vessels of the temple into the land of Shinaar, into the house of his GOD, which in all probability was the temple of Belus in Baylon. Besides Babel, there are three other cities mentioned in scripture to have been situate in Shinaar, *viz.* Erec, Accad, and Calneh; but as all the four seem to have stood at no great distance from each other, we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be presumed, that it took in more to the north of Babel than to the south, and that it lay for the most part, though not entirely, between the Euphrates and Tigris; for Babylon,

(Q) The name in Hebrew is שִׁנְעָר Shinaar, or Sennaar, in Arabic, Senjar. Bochart says, it is derived from נָעַר *naar*, which signifies to scatter or dissipate: and if so; it could not have been imposed by the Noachidae, on the plain where they first fixed, as Josephus affirms, without supposing them to have foreseen the dispersion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

Babylon, if it was the ſame with Babel, ſtood on the eaſt ſide of Euphrates (R), which paſſed along the weſt ſide of it, before Nebuchadnezzar built the new city on this ſide that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

We meet with footſteps of the name of Shinaar in thoſe parts, both in antient and modern authors: Senaar of Babylon is mentioned by Hiſtiaeus the Mileſian, and the city of Singara in Meſopotamia by ſeveral. Some ſpeak of a territory of that name in the ſame quarters; Ptolemy places both the city and mountain of Singara there: all which ſeem to be the ſame city, mountain (S), and territory, which ſtill bear the name of Senjar in the eaſt. The part of Meſopotamia choſen out by the aſtronomers in the time of the kalifa al Mamum for meaſuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the deſert of Senjar; which the nature of the experiment ſhews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at leaſt a part of the antient plain of Shinaar.

The city of Senyar ſtands, or ſtood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the deſert, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the ſame name) twenty-one miles from Balad, and twenty ſeven from Mufol, which two laſt are ſituate on the Tigris, twenty-one miles aſunder. It is ſaid to ly to the ſouthward of Niſibin, almoſt three ſtages weſt of the Tigris, or more particularly of Mufol; ſo that Ptolemy is in the wrong, to place Singara on that river. As for the difference between the words Shinaar and Singar, it is very ſmall, conſidering in the Hebrew, the ſame charcter ſtands for the Ain and the Ghain (T). We find Sengar called alſo by another name, *viz. al Samara*, which ſeems to be the contraction of *Sarra man-rai*, a city on the eaſt of

(R) Among other circumſtances it may be obſerved, that the modern travellers repreſent the Euphrates a mile and a half broad in thoſe parts; whereas Strabo ſays, the breadth of the branch of that river which paſſed through Babylon, was but a furlong, or the eight part of a mile; though the bridge, according to Diodorus, was five furlongs in length, if he does not miſtake: but, ſuppoſing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the preſent breadth of the Euphrates; which yet, lower down at Hella, becomes more narrow.

(S) Haitho, the Armenian, writes, that in Meſopotamia there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit-trees, the more eaſterly of which is called *Sinjar*, the other *Leſſon*: probably the deſert or plain of Sinjar lay between theſe two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground Heidegger charges Haitho with a miſtake, as if he made Sinjar a mountain of Chaldea: on the contrary, that author ſeems to have miſtaken Haitho, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning Meſopotamia, as belonging to the foregoing chapter, which treats of Chaldea.

(T) Thus עמרה may be written either Gomorrah, or Amorrah: עצה either Gazah or Azzah, as we find it in the margin of our Bibles.

of the Tigris, three ſtages above Baghdad, and, for a time, the ſeat of the khalifa.

The building of Babel begun.

The ſons of Noah, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the ſenſe of the paſſage, which gives an account of this enterprize: "And they ſaid, Go to, let us build us a city and tower, whoſe "top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, leſt we be ſcat-"tered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Many imagine, that the motive which induced them to undertake this building, was their apprehenſion of a ſecond deluge; and therefore they reſolved to raiſe a ſtructure of ſufficient height to fly to, in caſe of danger. Others think there is no room for this ſuggeſtion; for, in that caſe, they would rather have built it on an eminence, than a plain; and the ſcripture expreſly aſſigns the reaſon of their ſetting about it, *viz.* to make them a name, or leave a memorial of themſelves, leſt they ſhould be ſcattered, or as it is otherwiſe rendered (perhaps to ſerve the purpoſe) "before they ſhould be ſcattered abroad;" which implies, they knew they ſhould be diſperſed before they began to build, being warned by GOD, according to ſome, to ſeparate themſelves into colonies. But a third ſort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible, as it now ſtands in the ſeveral tranſlations, will have it, that the word שם *ſhem* ſhould not be rendered *name*, but *ſign*; and ſo the paſſage will run, "Let us make us a ſign, leſt we be ſcattered;" that is, as Perizonius explains it, the tower was to ſerve them as a beacon, or mark, by the ſight of which, or of a ſignal made from the top of it, they might avoid ſtraying in the open plains with their flocks (the firſt men being ſhepherds), and be brought back to the city, which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to diſperſe themſelves.

Their deſign fruſtrated.

But whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which ſeem to be dubiouſly expreſſed in the text, the effect of their conſultation was, that they ſet on foot the building of the city and tower of Babel. But this enterprize being diſpleaſing in the eyes of GOD, as tending to fruſtrate or delay the execution of his deſign, which was, that mankind ſhould not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project, before they had finiſhed it (U), by confounding their language, ſo that one could not underſtand what another ſaid; from whence the city took the name of *Babel*, which ſignifies *confuſion*: whereupon the diſperſion and planting of nations enſued

The time of this enterprize.

This great event happened juſt before the birth of Peleg, in the year of the flood one hundred and one, according to the Hebrew calculation; in the year four-hundred

(U) Some pretend that the tower was thrown down by tempeſtuous winds on the buildersheads; and that the city of Babylon was built out of the ruins.

hundred and one, according to the Samaritan; and, according to the Septuagint, in five hundred and thirty-one; when the work, according to ſome, had been carried on twenty-two years; and, according to others, forty.

Many, conſidering the confuſion of tongues, and the diſperſion of mankind thereupon, as a divine judgement, have deemed the building of Babel an evil attempt (W); and being concerned for the honour of Shem and his race, will not allow them to have been preſent at it, ſuppoſing that undertaking to be ſet on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind, in which ſenſe they underſtand the words "the children of men." On the contrary, others will have it, that not only Shem, but Noah and Abraham, aſſiſted in the raiſing of that ſtructure; while ſome ſay Nimrod, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work, retired into Aſſyria, becauſe he would not give his aſſent to it. *Whether ſinful.*

That the building of Babel was a thing indifferent in itſelf, and no way ſinful, ſeems evident from the ſilence of ſcripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or preſumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of Shem were concerned in that work as well as the reſt, appears from their ſharing in the puniſhment, if it be a puniſhment, that is, the confuſion of tongues; though this is denied by ſeveral; for the languages of Elam or Perſia, and of Aſſyria, and Meſopotamia, were different, as were alſo thoſe even of the deſcendants of Eber, the Arabs and Jews, whatever others may pretend; and if ſpeaking the Hebrew language be a proof, then the Canaanites were not concerned in the building of Babel, any more than Eber and his deſcendants; for their language was the ſame with the Hebrew.

But this ſuppoſed abſence of the Shemites, as alſo another common opinion, that ſeveral nations were planted before the diſperſion, are overthrown by the authority of ſcripture, which ſtrongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were aſſembled in the plain of Shinaar (X); and it is probable, that after the building of Babel,

(W) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, ſuppoſes that this tower (whoſe pyramidal form, he ſays, reſembles fire, or the conic ſhape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the ſun, as the moſt probable cauſe of drying up the flood. But of this there is not the leaſt footſtep in ſcripture.

(X) There is not one fact in all the Moſaical hiſtory, which ſeems to be more firmly eſtabliſhed than this. As ſoon as Moſes hath brought the three ſons of Noah out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that of them was the WHOLE EARTH overſpread. And after giving us the names of their deſcendants, at the time of their diſperſion, he ſubjoins, "And by thoſe "were the nations divided in the earth "after the flood." Then proceeding to give an account of that memorable tranſaction, he tells us, "That the whole earth was of one language, "and

Babel, Shem and his deſcendants choſe, or accepted of, the adjacent country for their ſettlement. So that, the moſt we can allow, with Buxtorf and others, is, that they diſſuaded the reſt from that enterprize.

The reader muſt needs have a curioſity to ſee ſome account of a city and tower which employed all the men in the world, for ſo many years, in building them. The ſcripture informs us, that they made uſe of burnt bricks inſtead of ſtone, and ſlime inſtead of mortar. According to an eaſtern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning thoſe bricks; each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick. The ſlime with which theſe bricks were cemented, was a pitchy ſubſtance, or bitumen, brought from a city, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, called Is, or Hit (Y). The oriental authors ſay, that the city built by the ſons of Noah was three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one

" and of one ſpeech. That, as they, " namely, the whole earth, journeyed from the Eaſt, THEY found a " plain in the land of Shinaar, and " dwelt there; and they ſaid, Let us " make brick, and build a city and " tower; and the LORD came down " to ſee the city and tower which " the children of men builded, and " ſaid, Behold, the people is one, " and they have all one language." Theſe ſeem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind, collected there in one body, had but one language, ſo all thoſe who had but one language, were aſſembled in one body; which argument is more cogent, becauſe it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world, at the time of the building of Babel, which city was ſo called, " Becauſe the LORD did " there confound the language of all " the earth, and from thence did " ſcatter them abroad upon the face " of all the earth."

From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is ſo well preſerved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to ſuppoſe, that any leſs than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of Shinaar, and aſſiſted in the building of Babel; and Moſes ſeems to have made thoſe unuſual repetitions, to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for ſuppoſing any branch of Noah's poſterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments uſed by ſome, that the phraſe *all the earth* is often taken in a reſtrained and improper ſenſe elſewhere in ſcripture, to ſignify only a part of the earth, and ſometimes no more than the land of promiſe; as alſo, that the expreſſion *the children of men* confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, becauſe that phraſe is alſo uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, in other places of ſcripture, are of no force here; the ſenſe of the whole (by which that of a part is always to be governed) being directly againſt ſuch a meaning, and this laſt expreſſion being evidently uſed only to vary the diction: beſides, thoſe who urge this laſt argument, do not ſeem to conſider, that, before the diſperſion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongſt mankind; who, it is but reaſonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith as well as government.

(Y) It is much, no modern author that we know of, excepting Bochart, out of the many who have occaſionally or profeſſedly ſpoken of Babylon, have

one hundred and fifty-one in breadth; that the walls of it were five thouſand five hundred and thirty-three fathoms high, and thirty-three broad; and the tower ten thouſand fathom, or twelve miles high; which dimenſions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even Jerom affirms, from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes, who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high; but Ado raiſes the height to no leſs than five thouſand miles: but theſe are ſhameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimenſions of this tower, ſuppoſing it to be the ſame tower with that which ſtood in the midſt of the temple Belus, afterwards built round it by Nebuchadnezzar, muſt be taken from profane authors. Herodotus tells us, it was

have taken notice of this nice circumſtance in Herodotus. That prince of hiſtorians obſerves, that, by the city Is, eight days journey from Babylon, there runs a ſmall river of the ſame name, into Euphrates, whoſe waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen; which are conveyed thence to the walls of Babylon. Diodorus ſays, the quantity of bitumen in thoſe parts is ſo great, that it ſuffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fewel, being dried and burnt like wood. Hit is called *Æliopolis*, by Iſidore of Charax, who mentions the ſprings of bitumen near it, and places it on the Euphrates, about two hundred and fifteen miles weſt of Seleucia, on the Tigris; which agrees better with Herodotus than the account of modern authors, who place Hit thirty-one paraſangs, or about one hundred twenty eight miles weſt of Baghdad (ſuppoſed to ſtand near, if not in the place of Seleucia), and twenty-one paraſangs weſt of Ambar, once a famous city on the Euphrates not far north from Felujia; and eight to the north of Kadeſia, a town no leſs remarkable for the battle wherein the Arabs gained the victory which decided the fate of Perſia.

Theſe ſprings of bitumen are called *Oyun Hit* the fountains of Hit, and are much celebrated by the Arabs and Perſians; the latter call it *Cheſhmeh kir*, the fountain of pitch. This liquid bitumen they call *nafta*; and the Turks, to diſtinguiſh it from pitch, give it the name of *hara ſakiz*, or black maſtich. A Perſian geographer ſays, that nafta iſſues out of the ſprings of the earth, as ambergreaſe iſſues out of thoſe of the ſea. All the modern travellers, except Rauwolf, who went to Perſia and the Indies by way of the Euphrates, before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a ſtrange thing. Some of them take notice of the river mentioned by Herodotus; and aſſure us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that, when the tower of Babel was building, they brought the bitumen from hence; which is confirmed by the Arab and Perſian hiſtorians.

Hit, Heit, Eit, Ait, or Idt, as it is variouſly written by travellers, is a great Turkiſh town, ſituate upon the right or weſt ſide of the Euphrates; and has a caſtle; to the ſouth-weſt of which, and three miles from the town in a valley, are many ſprings of this black ſubſtance; each of which makes a noiſe like a ſmith's forge, inceſſantly puffing and blowing out the matter ſo loud that it may be heard a mile off: wherefore the Moors [Arabs] call it *Bab al jehennam*; that is *hell-gate*,

was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth (Z); and Strabo determines the height to have been a furlong; that is, the eight part of a mile, or six hundred and sixty feet, which is itself prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids in height, one hundred seventy-nine feet; though it fell short of it at the basis by thirty-three. It consisted of eight square towers, one above another, gradually decreasing in breadth; which with the winding of the stairs from the top to the bottom on the outside, gave it the resemblance of a pyramid, as Strabo calls it. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the structure, easily induces us to believe it to be the same tower mentioned by Moses; Nebuchadnezzar finishing the design which the sons of Noah were obliged, by the confusion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

What this most wonderful city was in its flourishing state, and the several changes of fortune which befel it, till at length it was totally destroyed, the reader will find remarked in the course of this history. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curiosity with some account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are so defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their situation; and this has occasioned travellers to differ concerning it. Most of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the west, or north-west, of Baghdad, to be the tower of Babel (A). Rauwolf sup-

It swallows up all heavy things; and many camels from time to time fall into the pits, and are irrecoverably lost. It issues from a certain lake, sending forth a filthy smoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch; which spreads itself over a great field, that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take: they use it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two or three inches thick; which keeps out the water; with it also they pitch their houses, made of palm-tree-branches. If it was not that then iundations of the Euphrates carry away the pitch, which covers all the sand, from the place where it rises to the river, there would have been mountains of it long since. The very ground and stones thereabouts afford bitumen; and the fields abundance of saltpetre.

(Z) The words of Herodotus are; "In the midst of the temple a solid "tower is built, of a furlong in length "and as much in breadth; and upon "this tower another is erected, and "another again upon that; and so "on to the number of eight towers." It is true the word μῆκος, which we here translate *length*, may also signify height: but some authors having thence supposed, as the construction seems to require, that the first tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other seven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant consequence, it seems more reasonable to understand Herodotus as we have rendered the passage; unless the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

(A) The name of this monument is variously written by travellers, Carcuftate Nemeru, Karkuf, Agarcuf: all

ſuppoſes he found the ruins of Babylon upon the Euphrates, near Feluja

all who mention it call it the tower of Nimrod; and we are told, that the common people of the country believe it to be ſuch; and that it is at preſent called the remains of the tower of Babel. It is ſituate, according to ſome, ſeven or eight miles from Baghdad; according to others, nine miles towards the weſt-north-weſt: it is conſpicuous at a vaſt diſtance, ſtanding by itſelf in a wide plain, between the Euphrates and Tigris, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reaſon, that, contrary to what is generally obſerved in other objects, it appears greater at a diſtance than when one draws near it. It is fallen to ruin on all ſides, and hath thereby made, as it is were, a little ſhapeleſs mountain, which it reſembles more than a tower, only it is rather ſquare than round.

It is built of ſun-burnt bricks, each a foot ſquare, and ſix inches thick; ſome ſay, they are three quarters of a yard long, and a quarter thick; others, but ten inches ſquare, and three thick. Authors differ as to the manner in which theſe bricks are ranged, and the materials made uſe of for ſetting and binding them together. They obſerve, firſt, that there is laid a bed, conſiſting of canes and reeds, bruiſed to pieces, mixed with wheat-ſtraw, and ſpread an inch and half thick; ſome call them mats made of canes and palm-tree leaves; others ſay only ſtraw, the thickneſs of three inches, which appear as yellow and freſh as if they were but newly laid, and are ſtill very durable. Upon this bed ly ſeven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds, and ſix rows of bricks; then a third bed, with five rows of bricks, decreaſing in that manner till you come to the top. Some ſay the ranges of bricks are interchangeably ſix and ſeven upon a bed; and others place a bed betwixt every courſe of bricks; but that is probably a miſtake: though between each courſe of bricks there is laid a little ſtraw; or rather they are ſet in bituminous morter, conſiſting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at preſent the faſhion of building at Baghdad, there being not far off a great lake of pitch; probably that of Hit, before-mentioned. There are fifty of theſe ranges of ſeven and ſix bricks; inſomuch that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty-eight feet. Others ſay, it is reduc'd to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet. This heap is in compaſs a quarter of a mile, or, at moſt, three hundred paces; not a mile, as one writes; the rain having waſhed it away on all ſides. It has no entrance, being a ſolid maſs, only at the foot of it one ſees a maghara, or lions cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which paſſes quite through the building, about a foot and an half ſquare, beſides a great window towards the top; into which our author threw a grapple, in order to aſcend it; but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall.

Travellers diſagree in their ſentiments of this tower: one ſays, it has been ſo well deſcribed by Moſes, that the ſight of the remains and ruins would make one admire the veracity with which the writings of that great prophet are penned; but another declares, that, according to Moſes's deſcription, there is no likelihood, that this ſhould be the tower of Babel; and therefore, rejecting the vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon

jia (B), about thirty-ſix miles to the ſouth-weſt of Baghdad. And Della Valle was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days

upon that of the Arabs to be more probable, who ſay it was built by one of their princes, for a beacon, to aſſemble his ſubjects in time of war: and this ſeems to be the truth of the matter.

(B) Rauwolf, a german phyſician, who, in the 1574, paſſed down the Euphrates, in his way to Baghdad, being come to a village, by him called Elugo, and by others, more properly, Felujia, which was the landing place for that city, writes thus: "The village of Elugo is ſituated where formerly Babylon ſtood; but, at preſent there is not an houſe to be ſeen for the ſhelter of paſſengers. The country is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled; and ſo bare that I ſhould have doubted very much whether this potent city (which once was the moſt ſtately and famous in the world, ſeated in the pleaſant and fruitful country of Shinaar) did ſtand there, if I had not know it by its ſituation, and ſeveral delicate antiquities, which ſtill are ſtanding in great deſolation; firſt, by the old bridge over Euphrates, whereof there are ſome pieces and arches ſtill remaining, a little above where I landed, built of brick, and of wonderful firmneſs. It is admirable alſo how they could build a bridge here, where the river is ſo deep, and at leaſt half a league broad; yet in all the way from Bir [near Aleppo], where the river is much narrower, we ſaw no bridge. Near the bridge we ſaw heaps of Babyloniſh pitch, to pay veſſels withal; and juſt before the village is the hill whereon the caſtle did ſtand, in a plain; whereon may ſtill be ſeen ſome remains of the fortification; which is quite demoliſhed and uninhabited. Not far off, behind it, ſtood the tower of Babel; ſtill to be ſeen, half a league in diameter; but ſo entirely ruined, ſo low, and ſo full of venomous beaſts, that have made holes through it, that one dare not approach within half a mile of it, except in two months of the year, when thoſe animals do not ſtir out.

"In the way to Baghdad, the road at firſt was very rough, and full of large and ſtately buildings, arches, and turrets, ſtanding in the ſand; whereof many were decayed, and lay in ruins; others pretty intire, very ſtrong, and adorned with artificial work, well deſerving a more exact inſpection. The ſteeple of Daniel is intire, built of black ſtone, and ſtill inhabited. It hath ſome reſemblance, for height and building, to that of the Holy-croſs church, or St Maurice in Augsbourg: from it may be viewed all the ruins of the old Babylonian tower, the caſtle-hill, together with the ſtately buildings, and the whole ſituation of the old town, very exactly. We reſted, after twelve hours march, near two aſcents, one behind the other, extending themſelves, like two parallel walls, with openings in ſome places, which I take to have been the gates of the old town; and the rather, becauſe I ſaw in ſome places, under the ſand, where-with the two aſcents were almoſt covered, the old wall plainly appear."—Our author ſaw ſeveral other antiquities afterwards; but night coming on, in which he groped his way to Baghdad, he loſt them; and,

days journey lower (B), near an antient city, called *Hella*, ſituate upon the ſame river. Here alſo muſt be placed the ruins deſcribed by a late tra-

and, in all probability, among the reſt, the tower of Nimrod, deſcribed in the preceding note, which lyes in this road. A late author has given ſome account of theſe ruins; but is much out as to the ſituation of them, as he generally is in his geography.

(B) Della Velle, who was at Baghdad in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of Babel, which he went to ſee, taking the way, by the riverſide, through Ruſwania, a village, in Thevenot's time, the landing-place for Baghdad, inſtead of Felujia, which is not far off; though, in his return, taking the ſhort cut through the plain, he arrived at Baghdad in two days; from which city this ruin lyes ſouth-weſtward, or more to the ſouth. 'In the middle of a vaſt and level 'plain,' ſays that excellent traveller, 'about a quarter of a league 'from Euphrates, which in that 'place runs weſtward, appears a 'heap of ruined buildings, like a 'huge mountain, the materials of 'which are ſo confounded together, 'that one knows not what to make 'of it. Its figure is ſquare, and riſes 'in form of a tower or pyramid, 'with four fronts, which anſwer to 'the four quarters of the compaſs; 'but it ſeems longer from north to 'ſouth than from eaſt to weſt; and 'is, as far as I could judge by my 'pacing it, a large quarter of a 'league. Its ſituation and form 'correſpond with that pyramid which 'Strabo calls the tower of Belus; 'and is, in all likelihood, the tower 'of Nimrod in Babylon, or Babel, as 'that place is ſtill called. In that 'author's time, it had nothing re-'remaining of the ſtairs, and other 'ornaments mention'd by Herodotus, 'the greateſt part of it having been 'ruined by Xerxes; and Alexander, 'who deſigned to have it, reſtored it 'to its former luſtre, was prevented 'by death. There appear no marks 'of ruins, without the compaſs of 'that huge maſs, to convince one ſo 'great a city of Babylon had ever 'ſtood there; all one diſcovers with-'in fifty or ſixty paces of it, being 'only the remains here and there of 'ſome foundations of buildings; and 'the country round about it ſo flat 'and level, that one can hardly be-'lieve it ſhould be choſen for the ſi-'tuation of ſo great and noble a city 'as Babylon, or that there were ever 'any remarkable buildings on it: 'but, for my part, I am aſtoniſhed 'there appears ſo much as there does, 'conſidering it is at leaſt four thou-'ſand years ſince that city was built; 'and that Diodorus Siculus tells 'us, it was reduced almoſt to no-'thing in his time. The height of 'this mountain of ruins is not in e-'very part equal, but exceeds the 'higheſt palace in Naples; it is a 'miſhapen maſs, wherein there is no 'appearance of regularity; in ſome 'place its riſes in points, is craggy and 'inacceſſible; in others, it is ſmooth-'er, and is of eaſier aſcent; there are 'alſo tracks of torrents from the top 'to the bottom, cauſed by the rains, 'and both within-ſide, and upon it, 'one ſees parts, ſome higher and 'ſome lower. It is not to be diſ-'covered whether ever there were 'any ſteps to aſcend it, or any doors 'to enter into it; whence one may 'eaſily judge, that the ſtairs ran wind-'ing about on the outſide; and that 'being the leſs ſold parts, they were

traveller (C) into these parts. We have inserted in the notes abstracts of the several accounts; but must acquaint the reader, that they do not any

soonest demolished; so that not the least sign of any appears at present. Within-side one finds some grottos; but so ruined, that one can make nothing of them: and it is a doubt, with regard to some of them, whether they were built at the same time with that work, or made since by the peasants for shelter; which last seems to be the most likely. The Mohammedans believe, that these caverns were pointed by GOD, as places of punishment to Harut and Manut, two angels, who, they suppose, were sent from heaven to judge the crimes of men, but did not execute their commissions as they ought. It is evident, from these ruins, that the tower of Nimrod was built with great and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, causing holes to be dug in several places for the purpose; but they do not appear to have been burnt, but dried in the sun, which is extremely hot in those parts. In laying these bricks neither lime nor sand was employed, but only earth tempered and petrified; and in those parts which made the floors, there had been mingled with the earth, which served instead of lime, bruised reeds, or hard straw, such as large mats are made of, to strengthen the work. Afterwards, one perceives, at certain distances, in divers places, especially where the strongest buttresses were to be, several other bricks of the same size, but more solid, and burnt in a kiln, and set in good lime, or bitumen; nevertheless, the greatest number consists of those which are only dried in the sun. I make no doubt but this ruin was the antient Babel, and the tower of Nimrod; for, besides the evidence of its situation, it is acknowledged to be such by the people of the country; being vulgarly called *Babil* by the Arabs.

This is the account of that curious traveller; whose painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan, and several prospects of the ruins; which we do not find were ever published in any edition of his works: but Kircher in his Turris Babel, has given two of them. However, after all, this seems to be only such another modern structure, built by the Arabs, for a watch-tower, as that already described.

(C) This gentleman hath, by his penetration, made something of this rude mass, and discovered a great resemblance between it and the tower of Belus, as described by Herodotus, though it does not answer in dimensions. He distinguishes between the first original design, upon which it was antiently begun, and the second different design, upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one design, and partly after another. The original design our author describes to be a high tower, exactly square, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whose sides, at the base, being two hundred and forty-three Babylonish feet, each of which is equal to a London foot and two inches, it must be in compass two hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces and four feet, or a little more than the fifth part of an English mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewise two hundred and forty-three feet, equal to the root of the square; and the oblique height, two hundred seventy-one feet and an half; the whole being a mass or heap of brick and bitumen work, inclosing a solid hill and rock. The

execution

any of them ſeem to us to be the remains of the original tower; but rather, ſome later ſtructures of the Arabs.

SECT.

execution of this firſt deſign (ſo far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, ſo many ſquare towers, in form of parallelepipeds, or flat cubes, one raiſed above another pyramidically; each twenty ſeven feet in height, but gradually diminiſhing in breadth as many feet, ſo as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the ſides of the other above, thirteen feet and an half broad. The laſt and higheſt tower was to have been an exact cube, twenty-ſeven feet ſquare, and as many high.

This ſtructure is built with bricks of earth, hardened with fire, each nine Babyloniſh inches ſquare and three thick, laid in bitumen, mixed with ſtraw, or reeds, to the thickneſs ſometimes of three quarters of an inch, and ſometimes of three inches, in the following order: firſt, there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds, three inches thick: then a row of ſo many bricks as make up the ſquare, likewiſe three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with ſtraw, three quarters of an inch thick; then a row of bricks as before; and ſo alternately, a bed of bitumen and ſtraw, and a range of bricks ſeven times more; ſo as to make up, in all, from the baſe, the height of three feet: then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds, three inches thick, being laid, the whole is repeated in the ſame order eight times more, ſo as to complete twenty ſeven-feet, which is the height of the firſt tower. The next five towers are raiſed in the ſame manner. The ſtructure ſo far, being one hundred and ſixty-two feet high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by Nimrod; but it was afterwards continued by Ninus Belus, upon a ſecond and different deſign; which was, that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, divided likewiſe into nine towers, gradually diminiſhing in the above mentioned proportions; of which, the laſt and higheſt would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty ſeven feet in diameter, and as many in height. In purſuance of this ſecond deſign, two round towers were built on the ſixth ſquare tower, the ſecond of which round towers (the diameter of whoſe baſe is fifty-four feet), or eight of the whole, has a temple practiſed, or contrived in its ſolidity, along with the execution; which temple is likewiſe round twenty-ſeven feet in diameter, and the ſame in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [weſt] ſide towards Babylon, nine feet ſquare, and thirteen and a half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top, nine feet diameter; the floor, both of the temple and entry, being plain, the ſides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermoſt third part of the height. This was built by Ninus Belus, who died before it was finiſhed, when the ſtructure was raiſed to the height of two hundred and ſixteen feet, or juſt eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the laſt and ſmalleſt of all, the completing of it was never afterwards thought on more by any of his ſucceſſors: ſo that it ended with a round flat, of fifty-four feet diameter, with the aforeſaid window of the temple in the middle, and ſtill continues ſo. And this tower as well as the temple, has ſerved as a

SECT. IV.

Of the confusion of tongues.

BEING in this section to give some account of the confusion of tongues, it may be expected we should first say something about the origin of speech, one of the most distinguishing differences between us and the animal creation, the great bond which holds society together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowledge are conveyed from one man, and one generation, to another.

Of the original of speech.

H

model, ever since, for all nations to imitate; especially the temple, which has constantly been followed by those of all religions, who have always built their temples round, with an overture at the top, except the Goths, who introduced the figure of Noah's ark in their churches: though, as to the overture or window, it is a difficult question among architects, whether it was designed, or happened by the tower being left unfinished, and wanting the last ninth part; which, according to the original design, was to terminate it; and if so, would have stopped, or covered that overture. It is commonly said to have been designed so: and Moses seems to have been of that mind, when, giving an account of what followed upon the confusion of Babel, he says, the further building of the city was given over; but is silent as to the tower; because perhaps he reckoned it had been completed. Yet it is certain, from the knowledge of the design, that it never was completed, and that the overture happened by chance, as before observed: besides, there are some temples of the same times to be seen in and about the ruins of Babylon: particularly that of Ninus Assur, done by his wife Semiramis, where there is no such thing; which makes it more probable that it was not designed: though the greatest part of the Babylonian temples of those times, we see have it; which renders the matter again something doubtful.

Before Ninus Belus began the before-mentioned temple, he made a sepulchre for his father Nimrod at the bottom of the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is inclosed by the tower. This burying-place is a double grot, consisting of two antegrots, one within another, and six sepulchres, or small grots, in each, two on each inner side; the sepulchres, being eight feet long, six feet broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the same level, four feet long, three broad, and three feet high. Within the sepulchre, on the right-hand, is a levee, or seat, the whole length of the sepulchre, three feet broad, and one and an half high, left uncut of the rock, for laying the dead body on. This sepulchre was made by hollowing a passage into the tower after it was built; as appears by the face of the opening, which is irregular, and the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one, to serve as an avenue, or passage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the same side towards Babylon.

The

If the authority of Moſes be concluſive, it ſeems not to be denied but that ſpeech was the immediate gift of GOD to the firſt man: not that we ſuppoſe God really inſpired him with any diſtinct or primitive language, but that he made him ſenſible of the power with which he was indued, of forming articulate ſounds (D), and the uſe he might make of them as ſigns of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary impoſition of them to Adam himſelf (E); as is intimated by GOD's bringing the beaſts and

This antiquity is defaced ſomewhat on all the four ſides, eſpecially on the north and weſt; where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a channel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen; which, with the reeds and ſtraw incorporated with them, continue firm and intire; neither time, weather, or any other accident, being able to make an impreſſion on them. The people of the country have dug caves in it to retire to; and thoſe who conduct paſſengers from Baghdad to ſee it, break off pieces in one place and add to another, in order to make ſteps and hand-grips, to render the going up and down it ſafe: ſo that the face of antiquity is now very much changed from what it was; the lowermoſt ninth part [or tower] being intirely hid under-ground by the earth and ruins: in ſhort, it is ſo diſfigured, that one muſt be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confuſed accounts of it. As to the ſituation of this ruin, which ſeems to be the ſame with that already deſcribed by Della Valle, whom he mentions, he is very much out in it; ſince he places it twenty-ſeven miles to the ſouth-weſt of Baghdad, and but twenty-nine to the north-weſt from the caſtle of Corna, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris; whereas Corna is, at leaſt, one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from that city.

(D) We cannot conceive, that inarticulate ſounds were ever made uſe of by any nation, to communicate their thoughts; nor that there are any inſtances thereof to be found, notwithſtanding what ſome travellers have related concerning ſeveral remote people. We are told the Samoyedes, inhabiting the coaſts of Siberia, and the icy ſea, have nothing human about them except their outward form; and that the uncertain ſound they utter, has no more the reſemblance of ſpeech, than the chattering of apes: that the natives of Greenland uſe a ſound like beaſts, ſo uncouth, that no Dane or Dutchman could ever yet imitate it: and, that the ſpeech of the Hottentots comes nearer the gobbling of turkies than any human voce; though, perhaps, it may be intelligible among themſelves. But it may be queſtioned, whether theſe authors were proper judges in the caſe, as not being acquainted with the languages of thoſe nations: and the rather, becauſe, upon inquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of theſe laſt, though commonly thought to be the moſt inarticulate of all others, is not a deſpicable one; and that thoſe of the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope, underſtand and ſpeak it tolerably well.

(E) Mohammed in his Koran, ſuppoſes Adam came by the names of things no otherwiſe than by revelation. That book pretends, that the angels,

and birds to him, " to ſee what he would call them; and whatever A-" dam called every living creature, that was the name thereof." So that, excepting the firſt impulſe of the Almighty, informing Adam of this natural power, we are inclined to think, that ſpeech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary ſounds, to denote, firſt, the moſt obvious things, and after, the leſs obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is poſſible Adam might attain the uſe of ſpeech by this method, we preſume none will deny; and, if it be poſſible, we are ſure it muſt be the moſt reaſonable and probable to all but thoſe who are for multiplying of miracles needleſly.

We cannot therefore approve of the opinion of thoſe, who imagine that GOD himſelf formed the body of a language, and then infuſed it into Adam (F). Beſides, the much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was, and the names of many things and operations, muſt have been impoſed ſeveral ages after Adam's creation; as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beaſts indeed, it is natural to ſuppoſe, Adam might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think he went ſo far as to name every ſpecies of them, much leſs all the reptiles, trees or plants; though ſome of the moſt familiar to him no doubt he did. The fiſh, we preſume, no-body will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had, by miracle, appeared before Adam, no doubt Moſes would have mentioned it; the fiſh of the ſea being the firſt part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by GOD to man.

It

angels, at the creation of man, expreſſing ſome contempt of him, GOD taught Adam the names of things, and then demanded of the angels, how thoſe things were called; which they confeſſing to be above their knowledge, GOD ordered Adam to name them to them; which he did; and the angels afterwards, at GOD's command, paid their homage to Adam as their ſuperior.

(F) The words, which are generally tranſlated, *man became a living Soul*, the *Chaldee* paraphraſt render *it*; viz. *the breath breathed into him by* GOD, *became in man a ſpeaking ſoul.* Moſt of the Jews ſuppoſe the firſt tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by GOD himſelf, and ſo communicated to Adam. Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the root sand fundamental parts of the tongue only; others, in a more ſpecial and particular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points, and accents.

This notion, which ſome Chriſtians embraced, and particularly Eunomius, who, becauſe GOD is introduced by Moſes as ſpeaking before the creation, held, that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Gregory of Nyſſa, who declared it a ſilly, ridiculous, and blaſphemous opinion, to imagine the great GOD would condeſcend to turn grammarian, and ſet himſelf down ſubtilly to invent names for things.

It has however been thought by great numbers, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment Plato himself seems to have been; who supposed, that the names of things, originally, had some natural connection, or congruity, with the things themselves; and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods. And partly from this notion, in all probabilty, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by GOD.

As we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine, that Adam could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by Moses, without divine assistance. We might suppose indeed, that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds: but to frame a number of them, sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason, those who were unacquainted with the Mosaical writings, have imagined, that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech (G). Several of the antients were of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only, or else, by confused sounds, of no signification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language, by imposing distinct names on things; which was not brought to any tolerable perfection, but by a long course of time.

The first language consisted of few words.

If we consider the primitive state of Adam, and the few things he had occasion to name, it cannot be conceived, that his language at first was very extensive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts, to serve the convenience of life, by acurate distinctions of the several species of creatures,

(G) This notion Horace has expressed in the following lines;

Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum ac turpe pecus———
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere

When animals crawl'd forth from parent earth,
A vile dumb herd they were——
Till words were found to utter what they thought.
And names were set on things.——

And Lucretius to the same purpose:

At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, & utilitas expressit nomina rerum.

Kind nature pow'r of framing sounds affords
To man; and then convenience taught us words.
Creech.

The latter also ridicules those who suppose speech the invention of one man.

creatures, and metaphysical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we should find the remainder contained in a very small compass: so that it must necessarily be several ages before a language could be completed to any degree, in comparison to our modern tongues. Scaliger, agreeably to this notion, divides speech into three sorts or degrees, as formed either for necessity, use or delight: the first is, that imperfect speech, or rather essay towards speech, above-mentioned, serving as the means of necessary intercourse between man and man. The second was somewhat refined and polished, by being adapted and made fit for use and convenience, and by applying certain dimensions, bounds and lineaments, to the first rude sketch; whence arose a certain rule of speaking. The third sort was yet more polite, there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dress.

Whether more tongues than one before the flood.

Whether there was more than one language before the flood, is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reasonable to suppose, that there was but one, in which it is possible there might be some difference in dialect, but none considerable: for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preserved by Noah, or, at least, was spoken by his descendants, till the confusion of tongues at Babel (H).

Inquiry concerning the primitive tongues.

It may be expected that we should here enter into a formal inquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that the first progenitors of mankind spoke. But as this is an inquiry rather of curiosity than use, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being: the most we can do will be to shew the vanity of the pretensions of those languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done, each nation being fond of it, as an undeniable evidence of their own antiquity (I): though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

Besides those kindred languages we commonly call the oriental tongues the Armenian, the Celtic, the Coptic, the Greek the Teutonic, and the Chinese

(H) Supposing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that Noah and his three sons could speak them all, it is most reasonable to believe that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the same among their descendants: so that the rest expiring with those first patriarchs, there remained but one language amongst mankind at the building of Babel.

(I) Psammetichus, a king of Egypt, appears to have been of this opinion: for, wanting to know who were the most antient people in the world, after several fruitless experiments, he at last hit on the following expedient

Chineſe; have aſpired to the preference, in this reſpect. The Armenian, Celtic, and Coptic, have little evidence to produce, beſides the antiquity of their nations; though the former inſiſt, that as the ark reſted in their country, and Noah and his children muſt have continued there for ſome time, before the lower and marſhy country of Chaldea could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they left their language there. The Greek ſome writers have fancied to be the moſt antient, becauſe of its great extent and copiouſneſs. The Teutonic, or that dialect of it which is ſpoken in Lower Germany and Brabant, has found a ſtrenuous patron, who has endeavoured to derive even the Hebrew itſelf from that tongue. And the pretenſions of the Chineſe have been ſupported, not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and ſciences, and their having preſerved themſelves, ſo many ages, from any conſiderable mixture or intercourſe with other nations; but alſo from the nature and ſingularity of the tongue itſelf, which conſiſts of few words, all monoſylables; is moſt ſimple in it conſtruction, having no variety of declenſions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and ſo modeſt, that, it is ſaid, they have no characters to expreſs thoſe parts which we induſtriouſly conceal: all which are conceived to be ſtrong marks of its being the firſt language of mankind; beſides the preſumption, formerly mentioned, of Noah's being the founder of the Chineſe nation.

Several languages claim this honour.

As to the oriental languages, tho' they have each of them their partiſans, yet the generality of eaſtern authors allow the preference to the Syriac, or

expedient: he took two infants newly born, and gave them to a ſhepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak a word in their hearing, but to nurſe them in a ſolitary cottage, by bringing them goats to ſuck, till they could take other food. Pſammetichus's intention herein was, to find out what word the children would firſt utter, when they began to articulate; imagining, as others have ſince done, that they would naturally ſpeak the primitive language, if not taught otherwiſe. At two years end, as the ſhepherd, one day, entered the cottage, he had no ſooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and holding out their hands, cried *becos*. Of this the ſhepherd at firſt took no notice: but afterwards obſerving they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and, by his order, brought the children into his preſence. Pſammetichus, having himſelf heard them pronounce the ſame word, inquired whether any nation made uſe of it; and finding the Phrygians called bread by that name, he and his ſubjects allowed this to be a proof, that the Phyrgians were the more antient people. Herodotus remarks, that the Greeks, among other ridiculous things, reported that theſe children were brought up by women whoſe tongues had been cut out, by the king's order, for that purpoſe. The ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes tells the ſame ſtory of another king of Egypt, named Seſonchoſis.

or that dialect of it which was spoken in Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Assyria; in which countries mankind made their first settlements after the flood, and where, it is presumed, the language of Noah, and his sons, remained. For which reason, the more judicious Arab writers acknowledge Yarab, the son of Kahtan (or Jerah, the son of Joktan), to be the first whose speech deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic; and little regard the pretences of some of their countrymen, that their language was spoken by Adam before the fall, and then changed into the Syriac, but restored again, upon his repentance; that notwithstanding, in time, it degenerated again into the same language; and would have been utterly lost, had it not been preserved by the elder Jorham, who escaped, with Noah in the ark, and propagated it among his posterity.

The patrons of the Syriac tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of persons and places, mentioned by Moses, from that language; and, generally, with better success than some writers will allow: but this argument, though commonly looked upon as conclusive, yet proves nothing of itself, as will be hereafter observed. However, thus much we must, in justice, acknowledge, that if any of these tongues, in particular, may claim to be the original, or mother of the rest, it seems to be the Syriac, which was, probably, spoken by all the patriarchs, from Noah to Abraham; that being, after the confusion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived: though it must be confessed, it will not thence follow, that it was in use there, before the confusion.

The pretensions of the Hebrew tongue considered.

But the Jews are they who assert the antiquity of their tongue with the greatest warmth. They pretend that it was immediately framed by GOD; that he spake it himself; for which reason it is called, *the holy tongue:* that it is the only language understood by the angels, and wherein we can pray, and be heard with effect. And several Christian writers, abating these superstitious fancies of the Jews, have acknowledged and maintained, that the Hebrew tongue is the most antient in the world; the very same which was spoken by Adam and Noah, and preserved in the family of Eber, who were not concerned in the building of Babel, nor, consequently, shared in the punishment inflicted on those that were. But as we have already shewn this to be a groundless imagination, we shall proceed to consider their principal argument, and, indeed, the only one which deserves any consideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in Moses; some of which that inspired writer himself derives from the Hebrew, and the rest are generally supposed to have been taken thence likewise.

And here it cannot be denied, that several proper names of persons and places, before the confusion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the Hebrew; and that there are some very pertinent reasons given, and allusions made by the sacred historian, to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the person or place designed by them: and this

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is the moſt that can be allowed. For though all the names in general mentioned by Moſes before the diviſion, may, poſſibly, be formed from ſome Hebrew root or other; yet much the greater part of them ſeem to be inſignificant, at leaſt to have no congruity with the ſubject: nor can it be expected they ſhould, unleſs we either imagine all ſuch names, as ſeem to relate to a future part of a perſon's life, were given by the ſpirit of prophecy; or elſe allow them to be impoſed after the events, which occaſioned them, happened; and ſo to be rather ſurnames than proper names; a conceſſion which manifeſtly weakens the argument drawn from them.

Thus much being premiſed, it will be eaſy to ſhew, that this demonſtrative argument, as it is called, will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain, that the names uſed by Moſes were the very original names themſelves, and not tranſlated, by him, from the primitive tongue into Hebrew, or at leaſt ſomewhat altered, to accommodate what he wrote to the underſtandings of the Jews. And, how inconſiſtent ſoever ſome may think this method with hiſtorical veracity, it has been frequently practiſed by profane, as well as ſacred hiſtorians; as has been undeniably proved: and Moſes himſelf has given a plain inſtance of his approbation of ſuch changes, in altering his own name, which was of Egyptian original, to adapt it to a Hebrew etymology. 2. Suppoſing the names given by Moſes were the true original ones, it would not be ſtrange at all, if ſome of them might, by accident, aptly admit of a Hebrew derivation; ſuch caſual conformities ſometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of thoſe names are more pertinently derived from ſome other of the oriental tongues, than from the Hebrew: and not a few of the etymologies which Moſes himſelf gives us, are deduced without any regard, at leaſt, to the preſent rules of analogy. 4. A few lucky paronamaſiæ, or alluſions, are no proof, in this caſe; becauſe they may happen by accident: and, in fact, ſome of thoſe mentioned by Moſes may be expreſſed in other tongues, as well as the Hebrew.

This argument has been farther enforced, from the ſignificancy of the names of ſeveral animals in the Hebrew tongue, which are thought to have been impoſed by Adam, becauſe of ſome peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correſpondent to their reſpective roots: but ſince the ſame may be as juſtly aſſerted of moſt other languages, as the Hebrew, it will conclude nothing. Beſides, we are much deceived, if we imagine (as has been yet generally ſuppoſed), that the verbs were really the original roots of the Hebrew tongue: on the contrary, the greateſt part of them, at leaſt, were themſelves, at firſt, derived from nouns, though they be now, for grammatical convenience, conſidered as the roots. On the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that no concluſive argument, for the antiquity of any language, can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occaſions, to be urged with great caution; being, for the moſt part, uncertain and precarious.

Whether all other tongues may be derived from the Hebrew.

Some learned men, however, have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the Hebrew, which they imagine to be the parent of all others. That they ſhould ſucceed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues, is no wonder, ſince they are manifeſtly ſprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh the mother from the daughters. That they have alſo given tolerable ſatisfaction in deducing, from the ſame tongue, ſeveral words, not only in the Greek and Latin, but in ſome other European languages, is not matter of much ſurprize, conſidering the great intercourſe ſeveral nations of our continent had with the Phœnicians, whoſe mother-tongue was the Hebrew: but when theſe writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the ſame fountain, they only ſhew their ignorance, and make themſelves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate ſkill in thoſe tongues: for a proof of which, we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the Hebrew tongue, by ſome of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the juſtneſs of its pretenſions, we may ſay ſomething hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

If the Hebrew tongue, therefore, cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been ſaid in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was intirely loſt at Babel; at leaſt, that no one can tell now where it was preſerved, which is much the ſame thing.

The confuſion of tongues.

The ſpeaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other reſpects, yet) being the great obſtacle to that diviſion of them into diſtinct nations, which GOD had, for moſt wiſe purpoſes, reſolved on, he thought fit to break this bond which held them ſo ſtrictly together, and confound their language, that they ſhould not underſtand one another's ſpeech; the natural conſequence of which was, that they were ſcattered abroad upon the face of all the earth. This event is mentioned by profane hiſtorians, who write, that mankind uſed one and the ſame language till the overthrow of the tower of Babylon: at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods; wherupon wars enſued, and thoſe whoſe ſpeech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and ſeized ſuch countries as they chanced to light upon.

How effected.

As to the degree of this Babyloniſh confuſion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diverſity of ſentiments. Several learned men, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion, that all the different idioms now in the world, did at firſt ariſe from one original language to which they may be reduced; and that the variety which we find among them is no more

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than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time, supposing a bare separation of the builders of Babel, have been induced to believe that there were no new languages formed at the confusion, but that the most that was done was only to set those builders at variance, by creating a misunderstanding among them. This some think to have been effected without any immediate influence on their language, which seems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the sacred historian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confusion of their speech, or, rather, of their apprehensions, causing them, while they continued together, though they spake the same language, yet to understand the words differently. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and, perhaps, some new words, which disturbed and perverted the former manner of expression: and this might occasion different dialects, yet could not create new languages. But none of these explications seem fully to answer the apparent design of Moses, which was not only to inform us how mankind were at first dispersed, and broken into so many different nations; but to account for the diversity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impossible, to do, without having recourse to some extraordinary interposition of the divine power. For though time, intercourse with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and the difference of climates (K), cause very considerable alterations in languages; yet the utmost effect we can imagine them to have, will not come up to the question. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be so much disfigured, that all the general

(K) It has been thought, by several, that the air or climate of some countries disposes the inhabitants to a peculiar pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain sounds, or letters: whence, as they imagine, it comes to pass, that some languages are so full of gutturals, or of consonants; while others have scarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter: that the Ephraimites could not pronounce the letter *Shin*; and that the Chinese find so much difficulty in the letter *r*, and the Arabs in *p*, *&c.* But we are far from being satisfied, that this difference is caused by any quality of the climate: on the contrary, it is much more reasonable to believe, that such varieties, in tongues and dialects, are perfectly casual, no one language comprehending all the several sounds, some making greater use of one sound, and some of another; and that a man, accustomed from his infancy, for that reason, and no other, to a peculiar pronuciation, must needs find it hard to imitate even the easiest, and seemingly most natural sound, that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the Hurons in America, who have no labails at all in their language, and therefore, when they speak, have no occasion ever to shut their lips, would not soon be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ. Yet experience shews us, how readily and perfectly a child, whose organs are free, and not stiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form strange sounds, which a grown person is not, perhaps, able to do, with the utmost pains and application.

general marks and characteriſtics ſhould diſappear. It is not eaſy to apprehend how all the words of a language ſhould be intirely changed for others; nor is there any one inſtance to be given of any ſuch total change: but it is next to impoſſible to conceive that ſo great a diverſity as we find in the frame and conſtitution of languages, wherein the grand and eſſential differences between them conſiſt, rather than in the words which compoſe them (as may be obſerved in the accounts we ſhall hereafter give of the ſeveral languages of which we have any knowledge), could ever have been occaſioned by the cauſes aſſigned above. The preſent diverſity of tongues in the world is prodigious; and, conſidering the time that has elapſed ſince the building of Babel, and the alterations made in ſome known language, in the courſe of one, two, and three thouſand years (which alterations we conſtantly find greater or leſs, in proportion to the intercourſe the nation has had with foreigners), and conſidering that there are many tongues, which, when compared with others, have not the leaſt affinity; ſo that a man muſt be the greateſt viſionary in the world, to imagine them the offſpring of the ſame parent: it ſeems to us, that the variety of idioms, now ſpoken of, can be no way poſſibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite ſyſtem, or allowing a formation of new languages at Babel. A very learned man (L), who warmly eſpouſes the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet ſo ſenſible, that exceptions muſt be made, that he himſelf excludes the languages of America, and of the Indian iſlands, out of the number; adding, that ſome have thence raſhly imagined, that the men who ſpeak thoſe tongues are of a diſtinct ſpecies, and not the deſcendants of Adam: which conceſſion is enough to overthrow the hypotheſis he would maintain.

Another argument againſt the formation of new languages at Babel, which has been thought to be of ſome weight, is, that if ſuch a diviſion of tongues be underſtood, no good reaſon can be given why thoſe colonies which ſpoke languages that were near akin, were not removed to the greateſt diſtances; and thoſe whoſe languages were entirely different, placed next one another. To this it may eaſily be anſwered, that there is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing every family had a diſtinct language, or that the ſeveral dialects of the mother-tongues were formed at the confuſion. The diſperſion might at firſt be effected without ſuch an abſolute ſeparation of families derived from the ſame ſtock: mankind was not then ſo numerous, but that it would be ſufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches and their prime families, by the introduction of new tongues, which, alone, we contend, was the work of GOD; for dialects, we allow, might and neceſſarily would be formed by time.

Upon the whole, we think we may reaſonably conclude, with a very learned perſon, whoſe ſentiments, on this head we entirely approve, that, upon the confuſion of Babel, there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the ſeveral dialects

(L) Vid. Calvin. in Geneſ. ix. 1, 2.

lects that are, or have been, or will be ſpoken, as long as this earth ſhall laſt (M), have ariſen, and to which they may, with eaſe, be reduced.

In what manner theſe new languages were formed, is a queſtion hard to be determined. It ſeems by the Moſaical account, which is ſo ſolemn, and repreſents GOD as coming down in perſon to view the work of theſe builders, that it was the immediate act of GOD; and ſome have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and inſtantaneouſly infuſing others into their minds, according to their ſeveral nations. The Jews imagine this was done by the miniſtry of angels, ſeventy of whom deſcended with GOD, and were each of them ſet over a nation, to which they taught a peculiar language; but Iſrael fell to the lot of his own inheritance, the Lord's portion being his people: and therefore, they ſay, they retained the primitive tongue. Others have ſuppoſed, that GOD did no more than cauſe them to forget their firſt language, leaving them to form new ones as they could: but this muſt have taken up ſome time, and could not anſwer the immediate occaſions of mankind. As it would be to little purpoſe to inquire ſo curiouſly into this matter, as ſome have done, the beſt we can do is to conclude, that it was effected inſtantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account.

The number of languages formed at Babel, and the conſequence of the confuſion.

It would be of as little uſe to collect the ſeveral opinions, in relation to the number of languages formed at Babel: we may as well allow the number of ſeventy, juſt mentioned, as any other. We only know from Moſes, that the Canaanitiſh, or Hebrew, the Syriac, and Egyptian languages were formed ſo ſoon as the time of Jacob. It is moſt probable, that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other; and that the ſublanguages, or dialects, within each branch, for the ſake of immediate intercourſe, had a mutual affinity, ſome more, ſome leſs, according as they ſettled near or farther from each other. And this was ſufficient to bring about the deſigns of GOD to divide mankind into diſtinct ſocieties, kingdoms, and commonwealths; and thereby to occaſion the making of wholeſome laws, the keeping of ſtrict diſcipline, the encouragement of labour and induſtry, of liberal arts, and all ſocial virtues, and the ſuppreſſion of ſuch vices as weaken government, and introduce a corruption of morals: all which opened a new ſcene of providence, with a ſurpriſing variety of wiſdom, in the government of the world.

SECT. V.

(M) Perhaps we ſhould except thoſe languages, which, it is ſaid, have been invented and made by mutual agreement; ſuch as the Chineſe, and that of the yncas of Peru.

SECT. V.

Of the origin of civil government, and the establishment of the first kingdoms.

The first government patriarchal.

WE have formerly observed, that the first form of government was certainly patriarchal. For, though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, respect, and support, which they indispensably owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all estates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive how easy it was, in the first ages of the world, and still is, in places where the thinness of people gives families leave to separate, and plant themselves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and since, without some government, it would be hard for them to live together, it was likeliest it should, by the express or tacit consent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it seemed, without any change, barely to continue; when, indeed, nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the father to exercise alone, in his family that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and, by that permission, resigning up to him a monarchical power, while they remained in it. Thus it was almost natural for the children to make way for the father's authority. They had been accustomed, in their childhood, to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were man, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and less covetousness, seldom occasioned great controversies; and when they did, where could they have a fitter umpire than the person by whose care they had every-one been sustained, and brought up, and who had a tenderness for them all? The government they were under continued still to be more their protection, than restraint; and they could no-where find a greater security to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.

Changed into monarchical.

Thus fathers of families, by an insensible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and, as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for several successions, or otherwise, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various constitutions and manners; according as chance, contrivance, or occasions happened to mould them.

Noah, therefore, being the common parent of the new world, while he lived, we may imagine, all his descendants considered themselves as

as in a ſtate of dependance on him: and as he was the ſupreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, ſo his ſons Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were, in all probability, chief governors of their reſpective branches in particular; as their ſons again, were heads or rulers of their reſpective families, under their fathers; each ſon of Shem, for inſtance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but, probably, gave laws to them, though his authority extended no them farther: for in diſputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourſe to the deciſion of their common father Shem; whoſe authority, alſo, was limited to his proper deſcendants; ſo that, in any difference between him and his brothers, Ham and Japhet, the appeal muſt have been to the judgment of their father Noah, as the only common ſuperior.

The policy of the Noachidæ.

On Noah's death, the unity of government was diſſolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler, in one of his three ſons. Upon their deaths, the bonds of union were again looſed, and mankind became, a ſecond time, divided in their political ſtate; ſo that, by degrees, they became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs; which ſeems to have been the ſtate of the world for ſome time after the diſperſion.

But as families increaſed, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, leſt their different intereſts and inclinations might trouble the public tranquillity, it became neceſſary to truſt the government of each ſociety in the hands of one, or, at leaſt, a ſmall number of perſons, who might re-unite all the chiefs under one and the ſame authority, and execute ſuch laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they ſtill retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a ſingle perſon, rather than many, and of ſuch as was moſt conſpicuous for paternal care and tenderneſs. Ambition and intrigue had, we may ſuppoſe, little or no ſhare in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the moſt worthy, by his known probity and moderation.

The eſtabliſhment of kingdoms.

In this firſt beginning of political ſocieties, almoſt every town had its own king, who, more attentive to preſerve his dominions, than to extend them, reſtrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country, till diſputes with neighbours, which were ſometimes inevitable, jealouſy of a more powerful prince, an enterpriſing genius, and martial inclination, the deſire, in ſome, of aggrandizing themſelves, and ſhewing their abilities, occaſioned thoſe wars, which often ended in the abſolute ſubjection of the vanquiſhed: whoſe poſſeſſions fell to the ſhare of the conqueror, and by inlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to puſh on his fortune by new enterpriſes: and thus ſeveral cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of

greater or smaller extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and success.

These first conquerors used their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and interests. Some, looking on themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, stripped them of every thing else, and reduced them to the state of slavery, condemning them to the meanest offices, and the most laborious employments; which introduced the distinction between freemen and slaves, ever since kept up in the world.

Others brought in the custom of intirely transporting the vanquished people, with their families, into new countries, where they were to settle, and cultivate the lands assigned them.

Others, yet more moderate, contented themselves with obliging the conquered to purchase their liberty by a ransom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, on payment of an annual tribute, sometimes even leaving their kings on the throne, and only obliging them to acknowledge the superiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and submission.

The wisest, and most politic, gained the affections of their new subjects, by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the same liberties and privileges; thus they united their interests, and made them one people.

If the Phœnician history may be credited, and their Cronus allowed to be Ham, the desire of rule began to make havoc in the world, even during the life-time of Noah, who was driven out of his settlements, and, at last, slain, by his rebellious son. But the first act of violence and usurpation, we find recorded in Scripture, was that of Nimrod, who, it seems, dispossessed Ashur the son of Shem, at first settled in Shinaar, and obliged him to remove into Assyria. The acquisitions he made, on this occasion, must be allowed to be unjust, though he might have a legal right to govern those who, probably, chose him for their chief, on account of his personal merit. However, it is to be presumed, that this revolution, which we suppose to have happened about thirty years after the dispersion, extended only to some few of the new-planted nations. In the rest, and especially those which lay uttermost, we cannot but persuade ourselves, that a simplicity of manners continued several ages; and that wars did not arise in the world, till the colonies, which were at first separated, by the increase of their numbers, began to press upon one another, and grow uneasy, for want of room; which inconvenience must have affected those most, who were settled nearest the centre: and, accordingly, the first warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of Shinaar and Elam.

Nimrod the first usurper on the rights of others.

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End of the General History, to the Birth of Abraham.